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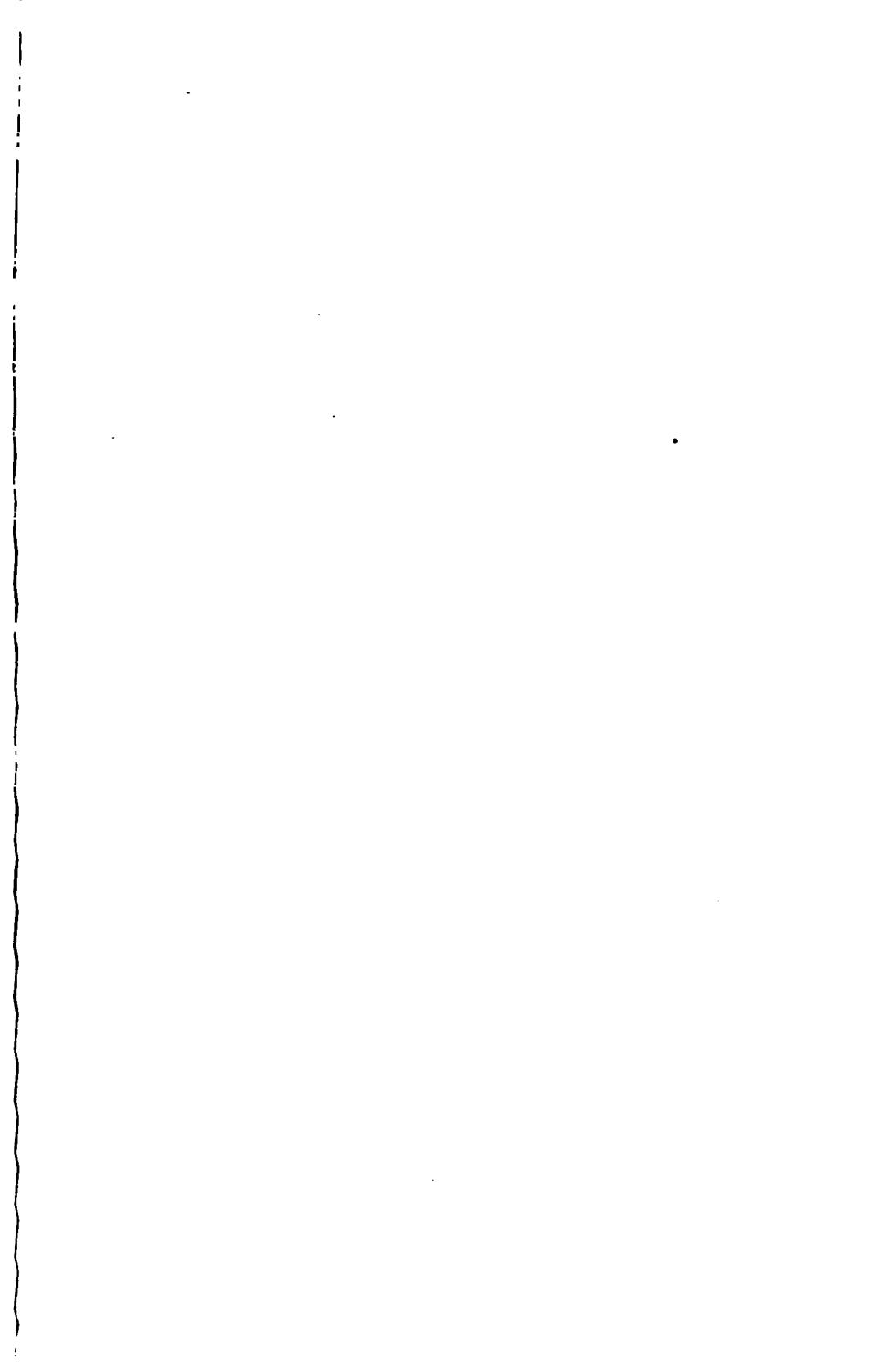


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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
**British
Archaeological Association,**

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XXIX.

London:
PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

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T. RICHARDS, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET, W.C.



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British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate, all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established ; and to aid the objects of that institution, by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association propose to effect this object are :—

1. By holding Communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies ; as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.
2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.
3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities, discovered in the Progress of Public Works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.
4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and cooperation.
5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.
6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.
7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.
8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.
9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held, on the 2nd and 4th Wednesdays in the month during the season, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Members have the privilege of introducing their friends.



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shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.

3. The correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the president or patron, or of two members of the council, or of four associates.
4. The honorary foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners, who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association, there shall be annually elected a President, ten Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with seventeen other associates, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex-officio* Vice-Presidents for Life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of officers and council shall be on the second Wednesday⁴ in May in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President, or presiding officer, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the annual general meeting, shall lay them before the annual meeting.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

³ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, and in 1864 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

⁴ In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852, till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days¹ on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices, or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the annual meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the fourth Wednesday in November, the second Wednesday in December, the second and fourth Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,² for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council; to which associates, correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

¹ In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connexion.

² At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867, the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British Archaeological Association.

MARCH, 1873.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS DELIVERED ON MONDAY,
AUGUST 5, 1873, AT THE CONGRESS HELD
AT WOLVERHAMPTON,

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH, PRESIDENT.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—Although I do not appear on this occasion exactly as a stranger to many whom I have the pleasure of seeing assembled here to-day, yet I feel that I appear in a very novel and to me a very perplexing position, as President of an Archaeological Congress. Fortunately I have already enjoyed the hospitality of this Association, and have thus had the opportunity of preparing the members whom I had the pleasure of seeing on that occasion, at their annual dinner, for something of a failure on the part of their intended President at this meeting. I can only say, speaking from the experience I have had of the Association on a former occasion, that whilst endeavouring to do my best, even if I make a failure, I feel sure that I shall receive the consideration, if not the compassion, of those who are doing me the honour of listening to me.

Those ladies and gentlemen who have come from a distance may, perhaps, have an idea that in visiting Wolverhampton they are to see a town begrimed with smoke, within miles of which no vegetation exists; and, if they believe all that appears occasionally in some of the public prints, that the inhabitants of the town are a set of uncivilised savages. Now, I have lived all my life in the neighbourhood of Wolverhampton, and I can only say this, that

if hospitality is one of the good points of savages, the inhabitants of Wolverhampton invariably show that noble trait of savage life to its fullest extent ; and they are ready on the present occasion, as on all other occasions, to extend that hospitality to their guests. I need hardly say that within the last few years Wolverhampton has been honoured by the visits of some very distinguished bodies, and by that of the highest personage in the realm ; and I believe I am correct in saying that the visit of Her Majesty to this highly loyal town was considered by her to be well worthy of the time she spent in coming here. I believe it would have been impossible for Her Majesty to have received a more cordial reception than she did on the occasion of her journey to Wolverhampton to unveil the statue of her deceased and much lamented consort. From all I have heard on the subject I feel sure that Her Majesty carried away with her a pleasing recollection of her visit to this capital of South Staffordshire ; and if the members of the British Archæological Association are only fortunate in having fine weather, they will, I am sure, take away with them a very different impression as to the neighbourhood around Wolverhampton to what they brought with them. I think they will find that Wolverhampton has a green as well as a black border, and that one side of the town, in contrast to what they might see on the other side, was very pleasing and interesting.

I will now, with your permission, pass on to briefly sketch out, for the benefit of the members of the Association, some of the principal objects which they have been invited to visit during the week, leaving abler hands than mine (those of the gentlemen who have arranged to accompany them, and describe the places) to fill in the details of the picture. I may also claim your attention with regard to certain points which may possibly be touched upon, but with which all present may not be familiar. I need not remind you of the antiquity of this town : the Mayor has already spoken of it as an ancient town ; and it is scarcely requisite that I should inform you that the grand old collegiate church, of which the inhabitants are justly proud, and which may be seen as a landmark of the place for miles around, was founded by "the pious Lady Wulfruna" in 996. The same lady also built a monastery, which was afterwards not in very good odour with the inhabitants of the town. Wulfruna, after founding this

monastery, placed in it a dean and prebends for the increase of religion. I do not know how things were carried on during Wulfruna's lifetime, but it appears that within two hundred years afterwards, those who were placed there for the increase of religion did not fulfil the founder's intention. Dr. Plot, in his *History of Staffordshire*, mentions how they grew so "enormous in their lives" that the Dean, Petrus Blesensis, obtained from the King and Archbishop of Canterbury terrible, threatening letters; but to no purpose,—they did not appear to have had any good effect upon their conduct. The monks objected to an honest man being introduced into their body as a canon; and then, said Dr. Plot, "they formed a league with thieves and robbers, and if an honest man was put in as canon, they attacked him, and made life so unpleasant to him that he was obliged to resign." In these days they had heard of such things as trades'-unions; but it might not have occurred to any one that there was, in those ancient days to which he was referring, a clerical trades' union for the purpose of getting rid of so obnoxious an individual as Petrus Blesensis. However, the result was that Peter appeared to have resigned his deanery, and wrote a letter to Pope Innocent III; but the Pope seems not to have taken up the matter warmly, and no record exists of his remonstrances having had the desired effect; and, as Dr. Plot quaintly adds, "there yet remains some umbrage of a dean and canon to this present day." I think, however, that the people of Wolverhampton have outlived all that; and I may say that the gentleman who is the present occupier of the deanery has in his own good life, and by his zeal and devotion to the welfare of the church, fully purged away whatever stain might have remained on the character of the deans and canons of bygone days.

Wolverhampton has long been distinguished and remarkable for its productions in metal-work. Those who have visited exhibitions of late years cannot have failed to remark the admirable specimens of lock-work exhibited by the artisans of Wolverhampton. Besides that, going back rather more to archaeological times, passing over the period when shoe-buckles were worn, and when gentlemen walked about in full dress, with steel-hilted swords by their sides, which were the production of Wolverhampton, they might go back to the period of the civil wars,—a period which will, I think,

during the excursions of the week, be vividly brought to our recollection. In this town itself there was a very strong royalist feeling in former days. I believe I am right in stating that the Goughs of the Old Hall were conspicuous as energetic supporters of Charles I in those troublesome times. I have alluded to Dr. Plot, and perhaps I may say, by way of a parenthesis, that I very much regret, in looking over the magnificent engravings which adorn Dr. Plot's volume, that so many of the old Staffordshire houses have passed away, and been replaced by what some considered more tasteful, but what I hold to be perfectly atrocious buildings, considering what they replaced. So much was this the case that they might be almost inclined to shut up the book in despair, and regret that a period of such Gothicism had intervened between the time of those old houses, as represented in the engravings, and the present.

Passing on to another topic in connexion with the history of the county, I would remark that some of you who have read the London papers may have thought that the county gentlemen and magistrates of Staffordshire were extremely unworthy of books, for that, though they had had a very magnificent library offered to them, they had done nothing towards availing themselves of the offer. I am happy to tell you, however, that all difficulties have passed away, and that the Salt Library is now the property of the county in every sense of the word. To-morrow, I believe, a meeting of the committee will be held at Stafford, for the purpose of appointing trustees of that valuable gift. I need not enter into the reasons for the delays that have taken place now that they are overcome; but I think we in Staffordshire have reason to be exceedingly grateful to many gentlemen who have taken up the question, and I would particularly refer to Mr. Sneyd and Mr. G. Wrottesley; to say nothing of our excellent Chief Constable, Captain Congreve, who is half a Staffordshire man, and who has taken a very active part in bringing the matter to a successful issue. I hope that if the British Archæological Association ever visit Staffordshire again, the Salt Library will be ready for their inspection. I merely mention this to show that we are not so black as we have been painted, although we live in a "Black Country"; but, on the contrary, we have a large appreciation of objects of art and antiquity.

Upon referring to the programme for Tuesday, I find that one of the places to be visited is Lichfield. I will say nothing about the Cathedral, except that when you see the grand west front of that beautiful edifice disfigured (as I must call it) by stucco, you will, I think, join with me in the hope that the day is not far distant when it will be replaced by solid, durable stone. In the Cathedral itself you will find many old monuments well worthy of your attention. Then, again, you must remember that you will be in one of the most ancient cities in Great Britain, situated as it is so near to the great Watling Street, one of the oldest roads in Britain. With regard to Lichfield, there is one object to which I cannot help alluding, although it does not actually bear on the antiquities of the place. You will probably, many of you, see a plate on one of the houses commemorating the spot on which Lord Broke, of the Parliamentary army, fell by a bullet fired by Colonel Dyott from the tower of the Cathedral. It may interest some of you to know that the old buff coat in which Lord Broke met his death, and stained with his blood, was, until last winter, hung up in the hall of Warwick Castle. When I mention this fact every archæologist will regret that such a relic as that should have fallen a victim to the flames ; and although they all hoped Warwick Castle might ere long be restored, there were very many priceless relics that could never be restored in that noble building, and the memory of them was all they had to console themselves with. At various other places which you will visit during the week, many objects of interest are to be found.

On Wednesday you will be taken on an excursion to Longbirch ; and I may remark that until the arrangements were being made for the visit of the Association to Wolverhampton, I had no idea where Longbirch was situated. Giffard's Cross, which is of very great antiquity, will also be brought under your notice, as likewise Brewood and Boscobel, respecting which a paper will be read by Mr. Harrison Ainsworth. On the occasion of your visit to Boscobel there may be some warm arguments, and bets of gloves and other light articles, as to the Royal Oak ; but I may inform you, on the authority of Dr. Plot's *History of Staffordshire*, that the original oak had fallen down many years before he wrote (that was in the seventeenth century), and that the

present tree was raised from an acorn of the original tree. Although not strictly an archæological matter, I may here relate to you an interesting incident which happened at Boscobel many years ago, on the occasion of the meeting of the Albrighton hounds at that place. It was no preconcerted matter, but by an accidental, fortuitous circumstance that the representatives of those three old royalist families, the Lanes, the Whitgreaves, and the Giffards, were all present in the field at the same time. Such an interesting occurrence is, I think, not unworthy of mention at a meeting like the present.

Now I come to something personal. After visiting Boscobel and White Ladies on Wednesday, your President is to receive you at Patshull, and he can assure you he will have very great pleasure in so doing. Although not an archæologist himself, he is not such a Goth as might be supposed. He might mention in his own favour, that some years ago it was suggested to him that a certain lane which runs between the two properties of Patshull and Wrottesley would be better if done away with. On inquiry as to whether this would be advisable, he learnt that this lane (which rejoiced in the poetic name of "Frog Lane") was the very track over which King Charles passed, after the battle of Worcester, to Boscobel. After hearing this he at once abandoned all idea of agricultural improvements or alteration, and the lane remained as it was. His residence at Patshull, although a comparatively modern place, had a good deal of historical interest attached to it, and he found that it had been a royalist garrison in the troubled times of the seventeenth century. Sir William Brereton wrote that "Captain Stone, Governor of Eccleshall Castle, on the 14th of February, 1644, surprised Patshull House (a strongly moated and fortified garrison of the enemy's), and, the drawbridge being down, fought with them some time in the house, killed many of them, and made the Governor (Mr. Astley), with divers gentlemen of quality, two Jesuits, and about sixty soldiers, prisoners, with all the arms, ammunition, and other prizes." Now I think the royalists of those days must have been uncommonly careless: at all events it looked very like the case with those who were then in charge of Patshull House, for they left the drawbridge down, and, as a natural consequence, the enemy obtained an entrance and overpowered

them. When you visit Patshull I hope I shall be able to point out to you where the old house stood, and to show you the place where, in making alterations in the levels a few years ago, we discovered horses' heads, skeletons, remains of swords, and other things, which pointed to the fact that there had been a furious battle there. Dr. Plot spoke of the residence at this time as "the seat of the Right Worshipful Sir Richard Astley." I find that Dr. Plot had a graduated scale of compliments for those whom he mentioned in his *History*, in proportion to the manner in which they had subscribed to or assisted him in his work: as, for instance, he spoke of the then Lord Ward as "the most loyal and noble Baron Ward, of Birmingham," and so on. However, in describing Patshull House, he spoke of it as being "built of squared stone, has gardens and waterworks, gates of iron-work, painted and gilt mounts, places of repose at the ends, the most accomplished and delicious mansion in the whole county." That was written before one of the Astleys (in spite of his father having spent a great deal of money on the old house and grounds) had it pulled down, and the present residence was built. I very much regret, as the present resident there, that such a change was made; for I believe that the old house was much better, in an architectural point of view, than the present modern-built residence. Dr. Plot, in his description of the old house, writes: "It should also have been engraved in *tail douce*; and so, indeed, it should, but the design of the engraver fell so very much short of the thing itself, the many buildings, trees, and gates hiding each other, that it would have been a disparagement or abatement to its true worth to have given the prospect of it."

There are many interesting objects which you will find at Pattingham Church, recently restored by Sir Gilbert Scott, should the time at your disposal permit you to inspect it. I may mention that there was, in the village of Pattingham, a house called "Torque Field House," which received its name from the following circumstances. In the year 1700 a labourer, whilst ploughing in the field in question, found under a stone which was disturbed by his plough an elastic gold torque. The finder sold the torque to a brazier named Orme, of Wolverhampton, who resold it to a London goldsmith for the value of the gold. The gold-

smith broke up the gold in order to use it, and destroyed the torque. The labourer who found the relic was afterwards sent to gaol by the lord of the manor for selling it. Unfortunately the name of the goldsmith who destroyed it was not recorded, or I would gladly have helped to gibbet him along with Mr. Orme. I would add, however, that before selling the torque, Orme made a copy of it in brass, but that was also lost.

At Sandwell Hall, Westbromwich, you will inspect the site of an ancient monastery, of which very little now remains ; and I hope, if ever the Association pays a visit to the neighbourhood of the Midlands again, they will do what time will not allow them to do now, viz., include in their programme a visit to Aston Hall. That grand old Elizabethan house is well worth inspection. Some of my own family were connected with it in former days, and I therefore take great interest in it. The old nooks of the Forest of Arden in North Warwickshire, and Maxstoke Castle and Priory, are also well deserving of a visit ; and I have received a letter from Mr. R. A. Wright of Stafford, inviting the members, during their stay there, to go and examine some curious old tapestry and other antiquities in a house belonging to him.

In conclusion, I have to thank all present for the patience with which they have listened to my remarks. If my inaugural address has been totally different from what they have heard before, they will at least have had the pleasure of variety. I have now only to propose that the thanks of the Association should be given to the Mayor and Corporation for the support they have given to us, and for the very handsome and cordial way in which they have received the members of the Association on this occasion.

ON THE UNIFORMITY OF DESIGN AND PURPOSE
 IN THE WORKS AND CUSTOMS OF THE
 EARLIEST SETTLERS IN BRITAIN,
 EVIDENCED BY COMPARATIVE ARCHAEOLOGY.

BY JOHN S. PHENE, F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., F.R.I.B.A., ETC.

THE similarity which prevails in the remains of early British places of occupation, rare as they are now becoming, indicates that though the people were divided into clans and tribes, they were either of one common stock, or that different peoples had contracted from some one clan possessing artificers, or from a party of immigrants, a common mode of construction.

To assume the latter is to assume the adoption of foreign habits by a rural and primitive people, which is unlikely. Still more so is it that differing races should have adopted an undeviating custom; for the distance of the three points to which I shall direct attention clearly shows that several intervening tribes must have existed between those to whom the respective towns I am about to mention owed their origin. At the outset, however, I entirely disclaim the idea that, admitting the mass of the people to have been of one common stock or kind, it militates against a different people having immigrated amongst them, or against such a people having even preoccupied our shores. Of such a people there are, I think, evidences; but upon them my subject does not now bear. The prominent feature of a common people, to which I propose to draw attention, is shown in their uniformity of design,—the circular, sometimes slightly deviating into an elegant oval, being a marked characteristic in their towns, their camps, and their individual dwellings. Whether these constructions are raised above the surface as erections, or sunk below it as excavations, whether taken in section or in plan, the same uniformity of shape is exemplified. These, as well as the few ornaments that have reached us, in beads, fibulæ, amulets, the so-called *ovum anguinum*; articles of domestic use, as the quern; or their “cup and ring-marks” on the incised stones of Northumberland, New Grange, Ilkley, Argyllshire, and elsewhere,—all bear as distinct a circular or

oval outline, as everything which strikes the eye of a stranger in Constantinople bears the form of, and tells of the discipline of, the crescent, even to the oars of the caiques.

I refer, by way of illustration, to former British dwellings at Greaves Ash, near Linhope, in Northumberland, in the form of erections ; to similar dwellings at Standlake, near Oxford, which we find in the form of excavations ; and to what I find reason to think were similar dwellings to the last, near Saltwood Castle in Kent ; illustrating by and by other indications of identity. Nor do I frame my argument wholly on the form, but upon the form having an intentional and symbolical meaning also : thus I find the quern quoted as an emblem of eternity ; while circles of stones, agreeing in some cases with astronomical numbers, in others actually found surmounted with a golden disk or halo,—to put it in the most meagre form, had an object, and rise above the question of mere accident.

I do not propose to occupy time by a description of these interesting places I have named, or either of them, because, although a mere outline has been given, yet they have been cleverly handled,—the first by the late very talented Mr. George Tate, one of the corresponding members of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland ; and the second by the discoverer, Mr. Stone, supplemented by Mr. Boyd Dawkins and Professor Phillips in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of England ; and though the third, often looked at wistfully by several, and pointed out to me by a scientific friend,¹ has, I believe, been only actually identified, *as to the points mentioned in this paper*, by myself, yet I shall merely refer to them as bearing the general features applicable to all, for corroboration of identity, and shall dwell only on points of archæological tendency.

These examples I now illustrate by diagrams, the first of which is taken from Mr. Tate's illustration of Greaves Ash in the Cheviot Hills ; the second from a photograph (taken by special permission to illustrate this paper) from a model by Mr. Stone in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, for which I am indebted to the kindness of J. H. Parker, Esq., M.A., the Keeper of the Museum ; and the third, showing the position of Tolsford Hill, with its attendant characteristic features, taken from the Ordnance Survey.

¹ H. B. Mackeson, Esq., F.G.S., of Hythe, Kent, author of a recent work on the *Records of the Cinque Ports*.

In regard to the unity of form between them, I shall commence, as an evidence of their being British, by comparing one of the circles in the subterranean village at Standlake with the very beautifully defined ones of Avebury in Wiltshire, the former being taken from an illustration in the *Archeologia*; and in this very perfect and geometrical circle we see a single illustration of all the excavations, which, to use a technical term, are indeed "true," and which, having carefully inspected the spot, I can attest.

In Greaves Ash, from the dwellings being erections, and not excavations, and the lower portions alone traceable, we have (caused by the open entrance) almost the representations of Celtic fibulæ, or of the so-called "cup and ring marks" in the incised rocks; and at Tolsford Hill we again find the perfect circle as the result of excavation, and in soil almost identical with that of Standlake; while in another case we have other distinct and distant localities, including Cornwall, Caernarvonshire, and the Hebrides, confirming the uniformity of design upon a broader scale.

From the similarity, then, of this form in the construction of their dwellings I conclude that, irrespective of a superior race of immigrants, or possibly preoccupants of our shores, the *mass* of the inhabitants of Britain were at one time identical and unmixed in race.

The second point of common uniformity of custom arises from locality. Our diagrams again illustrate the point. Unlike the unmistakable camps and forts situate, for the most part, on the tops of eminences, the towns and dwellings appear rather to occupy the plains. Tolsford Hill is an exception; but incursion from the sea, on probably an unprotected coast, is a sufficient explanation of this difference. In other respects it agrees with the features I am about to mention.

1st. A lofty eminence in the vicinity was apparently an inevitable condition in selecting a site; and that such eminence should be on the east, seems equally conclusive. At Greaves Ash, the Ingram and Reavely hills are on the east; at Standlake, the Beacon Hill, near Ensham; at Tolsford Hill, the remarkable Castle Hill, with the British fort mis-named Cæsar's Camp,—unless, indeed, so called from occupation after conquest. At a similar series of excavations in the chalk between Pewsey and Avebury, which I traced last

year, and which lie between two Roman camps, the lofty hill near Marlborough is on the east ; and at the supposed British excavations at Coal's Pitts, near Farringdon, Sino-dun Hill, with its formidable British camp, is due east.

Where localities had not these features sufficiently prominently marked, art was had recourse to, to render them so, as in the case of the Castle Hill at Cambridge, clearly a British tumulus, and near a British settlement, though no remains beyond the pottery, and evidences of cremation, now exist; and I wish Mr. Fergusson would let me say Silbury Hill also, although it is not in the position I have indicated.

2nd. Water—of course an essential in the selection of the site—was, I find in each case, intervening between the hill and the locality of abode and also of burial. The Breamish, issuing from the hills before mentioned, flows between them and Greaves Ash, while *for use* Linhope Burn was approached by a strongly defended way. The Thames and its tributaries water as well as separate Standlake and Coal's Pitts respectively from the above mentioned eminences on their east. The name of Tolsford indicates the presence of water in former times in more abundant supplies than at present; still a burn or stream exists in the position indicated, and probably before the establishment of the waterworks there was another and more abundant source of supply. The seemingly British excavations I have referred to in Wiltshire are watered in the same manner.

In each of the examples I have given, moreover, British roads, known as "*hollow*" roads, lead to and guard the approach. At Greaves Ash they are described by Mr. Tate, at Standlake they are shown in the diagram, and in Kent and Wiltshire similar approaches mark the sites I have mentioned, both roads and sites having been evidently adopted by the Romans.

I gather from these evidences the following customs.

Worship on the summits of hills, towards the rising sun. The custom in some parts of Scotland and elsewhere, of females going on the hill-tops on the first day of May, to see the sun rise, and of washing their faces in May dew, is a remnant of this worship. Stonehenge has been visited from time immemorial, on the longest day, to see the sun rise.

The evidence that though the people were, as I have

assumed, of a common stock, yet that not only each clan or tribe, but each town or settlement, had its respective mountain or hill of worship, brings before us the possibility of the division of the country into districts, as with us into parishes (though not into a systematised apportionment of a whole, as at present), being a pre-existing fact; and that the British spire now fills the place, in the plains, of the once aspiring flame which ascended from the hill-altars in every such district; the intermediate stage being still visible in the round towers of Ireland, which succeeded the ordinary and primitive beacon both for military and religious usage. And again, it brings forcibly to the mind the same illustration of convenience that the place of worship near at hand now affords, together with the words, "It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem," as well as the words, "For they also built them high places, and images, and groves, on every high hill"; one part of the offence of which was its being a custom *adopted from the preexisting and surrounding nations.*

Very rare are such remains of British settlements; but there is sufficient evidence that there were such in the vicinity of Oxford, as in the example of Standlake or even Coal's Pitts; and notwithstanding the low level and the formerly marshy locality, I think it not unlikely the present site of Oxford was one, as that of Cambridge clearly was, and that the now ecclesiastical city has seen its hordes ascend Shotover Hill to do worship on the 1st of May; and though I have not been able to trace it, yet that the well-known service now chanted on the church tower of Magdalen College was established on a remnant of some legend of the worship celebrated on that day. Dr. Bloxam, in answer to inquiries made by me at the Bodleian Library, considers it was in honour of Flora, which, and the accompanying horn blowing, tend that way.

Dr. Bloxam condoles with the antiquary for whom the inquiry is made, on the paucity of the information he is able to give; yet it perfectly agrees with nature-worship, for certainly if vegetable life was then as it is now, when, in the early part of May last year, I ascended Shotover Hill with Professor Phillips and a party of geologists, and found it one mass of pale blue hyacinth and yellow gorse,—the one undistinguishable from the blue smoke of the cottages near

at hand, and the other a fiery blaze of gold,—they might well think nature sympathised in their adoration of their sun-god.

It is no evidence against it that the Saxon chroniclers did not mention such a settlement. They would be more impressed and occupied with Roman antecedents than British : the one they would strive to emulate, the other affect to despise and obliterate.

When I took the excursion I have mentioned, on Shotover Hill, it was my first acquaintance with the vicinity of Oxford. I went on a purely geological excursion with the Geologists' Association, headed, as I have stated, by Professor Phillips. Geology was the subject which alone engrossed my thoughts and those of my companions. The moment that I attained the summit of the hill, however, I at once stated to a much esteemed clerical friend, who is the President¹ of the Association, that I was certain, from points in the physical features of the surrounding country, that this hill must have been a site for worship with the old Celtic population. An appeal was made to Professor Phillips, who said there were no evidences, from remains on the hill, to lead to an idea of any ancient occupation whatever, and he had never heard of any tradition or legend in connexion with it. So firmly convinced was I, however, that I not only maintained my opinion, which I arrived at from having found places in Scotland with similar physical features always so occupied, but I stated that opinion to the British Association at Edinburgh last summer. I had literally nothing to support such a theory but my own comparison in archæology ; and comparative archæology is a matter little known, except with regard to buildings or other remains with historic data; and, I may add, it is still less cared for. Judge then of my gratification when, in the quarterly *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, for last year, I found (pp. 65-70), under the heading of "The Cerne Giant," a paper by Dr. Wake Smart about as encouraging to my way of thinking as Dr. Bloxam's condolence; Dr. Wake Smart bringing everything, in his paper, down to mediæval times. But mediæval or not, it contains this statement in reference to some of the enormous and mysterious figures in Britain : "There was formerly a gigantic

¹ The Rev. Thomas Wiltshire, M.A., F.G.S., F.L.S., etc.

figure on Shotover Hill, near Oxford." Here, then, was a fact; here was evidence. Now, allowing the Doctor to be quite right as to those productions being mediæval, he himself admits in the theory he advances, namely, that they were the work of pastime with the monks; he admits that their pastime was to portray the lineaments of some legendary personage. Even so. Then there was an antecedent legend which gave rise to the figure, and this indicates an antecedent religion. But if I am permitted to apply comparative archaeology to the subject, we are at once carried back to a remote era. I will take as my evidence the very next sentence in Dr. Wake Smart's paper. It is this: "Nor is the analogy wanting in America, for Professor Wilson observes, 'the Cerne Giant preserves a curious counterpart to those incised figures scattered over the prairie lands beyond the shores of Lake Michigan.'" I would ask, then, does the Doctor suggest that those figures were also incised by the mediæval monks. Of course he will reply that they never reached Michigan. Nor, we know, did they reach Easter Island, nor did they sculpture the Memnonium; yet here we have a unity of design as to stature, though not so perfect as regards the rules of art, that stamps Britain's sculptures, if not as coæval, at least as approximating to the remoteness of date and idea identified with the others.

The custom amongst ancient nations, of conveying their dead across water,—and, I believe, often towards the setting sun, as symbolical of the passage of the spirit,—seems also to have been common to the early people of these lands.

The circle at Standlake was originally a cemetery; and if we may assume, as seems to me the case from the quarterly statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for January, 1871 (pp. 9, 10, and 11), that bodies were burned *sacrificially*, and on *eminences*, then the urns at Standlake may, after the offering on the hill-top, have been conveyed back over the water and deposited in the final resting-place,—one of the objects, it appears to me, in selecting the flowing stream between the hill-top and the cemetery.

I must express my obligation to that talented oriental explorer, E. H. Palmer, Esq., M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, for his assistance towards my obtaining the diagram which I exhibit, and in which precisely similar constructions of stones to those at Greaves Ash are shown,

as discovered in the Wilderness, with similar instances of cremation, and I think pottery, to those of that neighbourhood.

I must also draw attention to the fact that as there can be no doubt many of the customs adopted by Moses existed before his date, though perverted to idolatrous purposes, it is probable that the water of separation and the ashes of a victim, or other deceased person, were inseparably connected from the earliest times. This interesting fact appears, as to its universality, to be established by a wide-spread class of evidence found in comparative archaeology.

Huge stones, popularly termed (as all such stones generally are) "Druidical stones," mark most, if not all, the localities I have mentioned, and point to a common mode either of worship or judicial proceeding. I prefer to think, of both; and, to my mind, the judicial court and the sacred temple are easily distinguishable. Near Standlake are such stones, now called "The Devil's Quoits," which are three in number. Those of Kent, Wiltshire, and Northumberland, are well known. I have also traced more or less indication of the use of fire on these spots.

There is one other custom traceable amongst these early people, to which I would draw attention, and which, I think, only attached to chiefs or great men.

I believe to British urns exclusively belong the side-perforations, which are quite distinct from those for suspension. Where British urns have been discovered with these openings, in most cases a small urn has been found in or near the large one, the small urn is also found to be perforated in the same manner as the larger one in such instances. These perforations are often found in positions, in the larger urns, which show that the urns could not have been closed with a lid or cover, any more than designed for vertical suspension by their means. Professor Rolleston has a specimen at Oxford where the perforations of what has evidently been a large urn, are only one inch and a half from the base of the urn; the object to me is conclusive: the holes are for attaching the smaller one to the large one inside or out, and the intent of that would be to preserve some part of the body in the small urn distinct from the rest, most probably the heart.

We must, of course, distinguish between the cinerary urn and the incense-suspender, of which I exhibit the beautiful

representation presented to me by Albert Way, Esq., F.S.A., in whose possession the original is.

In a previous paper read before the British Archæological Association, and published in the quarterly *Journal* for September, 1871, the peculiarity in these urns was pointed out by me, as well as a few of the following facts in connection with the preservation of the heart.

In all countries where the worship of the sun prevailed the heart was a favourite offering or prominent feature in sacrifice and death. Sir Walter Scott founds his tale of *The Monastery* on the custom of preserving the heart in Scotland; and in an early number of the *Archæologia* it is stated that a heart-shaped, pitchy, or mummified, substance was found in one of these urns, where two, as above-mentioned, were exhumed together, and black earth is not unfrequently found in the smaller urn, and burned bones in the larger. Hence I assume this was a custom amongst the Britons.

Moreover, we find the heart an object of veneration down to a late date. At Winchester there is an inscription as to the heart of Ethelmar, Bishop of Winchester, and half-brother of Henry III, as follows :

“Corpus Ethelmari, cuius cor nunc tenet istud
Saxum, Parisiis morte datur tumulo. —Ob. Anno 1261.”

But this, as well as the other customs I have quoted, had a wide range. In Mexico the palpitating heart of the almost still living victim was considered supremely acceptable to the gods. In Egypt it is found amongst the sculptured offerings on an altar. In a very ancient representation of the mysteries of Bacchus, one of the female figures is portrayed as holding up to adoration a palpitating heart, by its great duct, as though just wrenched from the bosom of a victim. A bronze heart-shaped object is published by Waring, which has an incision on one side, and is referred to by him as an ancient British object of veneration in connection with the creative attributes. The passage rendered in one place “I will freely sacrifice unto Thee,” and in another, “an offering of a *free* heart will I give Thee,” evidently had reference not only to a voluntary surrender of spiritual powers, but was in contradistinction to the homicidal and idolatrous offerings of the hearts of captives, made by the adjoining nations to their false gods. David acknowledges his escape from such

enemies, and offers his living heart in return as freely as they would have offered it after death.

These indications of common or uniform design and purpose may appear few, though still enough to connect the early people of these lands with others, and with the habits shown by the Palestine explorations to have existed in the east, and with much that we find in the rites of Mexico; and it is only by collecting and comparing such evidences that we can ever hope to realise the condition of man in prehistoric times. I have not, however, exhausted the subject, and could, if need were, increase it by my own experiences. I have referred to the incisions at New Grange, Ilkley, Northumberland, and elsewhere, but it is not in Britain and Ireland alone that these are found. America, Greece, Sardinia, Spain, and Brittany, and even India, all give us examples of these mysterious incisions (one or two of which I was fortunate enough to discover on his Grace the Duke of Argyll's estate in Argyllshire last summer), and all which I think can be clearly shown to have an intimate relation and object.

Nor does the evidence of uniformity stop here. There is a special and universal object of religious worship indicated by—let us take the most elaborate—the altars of solar and other sculptured emblems from Babylon and Nineveh.

More rude, but to early man of an equally symbolical appearance, were the larger monoliths all over the world, such of the smaller ones as formed the domestic altars attached to the urban penates having been almost all destroyed; those at Babylon and Nineveh were wonderfully preserved, they are found in one form or another all over the globe; the smaller ones being carried, as objects of veneration, from place to place by different nations; and I had the rare fortune, last year, to exhume two, one from Letcombe Castle in Berkshire, and one from the Duke of Argyll's chambered tumulus at Ach-na-goul, photographs of each of which will be exhibited at the Loan Museum at Brighton during the forthcoming meeting of the British Association.¹ I have not had an opportunity of examining the tumuli in this district yet; but I am convinced that, if systematically and carefully opened, much interesting matter would be gathered from them.

¹ Exhibited as a part of Mr. Phené's collection of ancient Celtic relics, and also at the Loan Museum of the Exhibition at Dublin.

ANCIENT BRITISH REMAINS AND EARTHWORKS IN THE FOREST OF ARDEN.

BY J. TOM BURGESS, ESQ.

AT the first glance there appears to be but little connexion between the Forest of Arden, so suggestive of poetic memories, and the bustling, busy, Black Country in which this year the British Archæological Association holds its annual Congress; for to the tourist the title of this paper speaks of pleasant days in the woodland part of the old province of Champagne, by the banks of the Meuse and the Marne. To others it suggests visions of Touchstone and Audrey, of Rosalind, Celia, and Orlando, not forgetting the melancholy and philosophic Jacques. There seems to be more of poetry than history, more of ideality than of archæology, in the name. Doubtless to some ears

“This song our shire of Warwick sounds,
Revives old Arden’s ancient bounds;”

and local topographers recognise in the name a small tract of land lying to the east of the Icknield Roman way in the county of Warwick, which is bounded on the south by the headlands of new red sandstone which overhang the valley of the Avon. This tract extends, in a northerly direction, as far as Solihull and Hampton-in-Arden. Old topographers describe it simply as the northern part of the county of Warwick. We will, however, take it in its older and greater significance, as embodying that district

“That mighty Arden held even in her height of pride,
Her one hand touching Trent, the other Severn’s side.”

We will consider it as the great British Ard-dene,—the high or mighty woodland which formed, when history revealed its existence, the southern frontier of that ancient British tribe who inhabited the county of Stafford as well as the shires of Chester, Salop, Worcester, and the northern part of Warwick. This tribe is known to us by the description of Ptolemy as the Cornavii or Carnabii. We are told by

Tacitus that Ostorius Scapula paused in his career of conquest in mid England, and erected a line of forts along the Nen, the Avon, and the Severn. That line of forts must have faced, at a little distance, those ancient earthworks which I venture to attribute to this ancient tribe, and to which I wish to direct your attention.

The Roman patrols and posts and sentinels must have occupied the high lands on the north of Oxfordshire and Northants, and their eyes must have glanced over the Warwickshire vale to that dark fringe of woodland which even yet marks, here and there, the northern bank of the Avon. When standing in front of the ancient beacon, which is still a prominent landmark at Burton Dassett, on a clear day the eye wanders over a scene of surpassing beauty. On the left the oolitic bluffs of Oxfordshire stretch away to the west till they melt into the high yet broken grounds at Brailes, Eatington, and Ilmington. On the very edge of the steep escarpment behind the spectator, is the egg-shaped camp of Nadbury ; and there is scarcely an elevation on which some traces of ancient occupation may not be found. The camps at Tadmarton, Madmarston, and the weird, weather-beaten stones at Rollright, are within a few miles. There is an encampment on the summit of the Ilmington Hills. There are many remains at the detached mound at Brailes. Castle Hill is the outlying work of the settlements at Sydnall Bank, which we would fain recognise as the *Alauna* of the Dobuni, in part of whose ancient territory we are supposed to stand. On the right, close at hand, is the linchet crowned steep of Gredenton. Farther behind, to the south-west, are the interesting entrenchments known as Arbury and Wallow Banks, and the supposed site of *Brinavis* in the doubtful Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester. From these an ancient trackway leads to *Bennaventa*, which we know as Borough Hill, the great British stronghold in the immediate neighbourhood of Daventry. Before us is the great Warwickshire vale. Its rolling surface is broken only by the hills of Napton and Shuckburgh. It is crossed at right angles by the Roman Fosse-way, and watered by the rivers Leam, Avon, and their tributaries. At the present moment it is a matter of doubt to what age the recently discovered earthworks at Wellesbourne and Hodnell belong. But with the exception of these, this vale appears to have

been a marshy, debateable ground ; but on crossing the Avon, the signs of ancient occupation are unmistakable.

Earthworks, entrenchments, tumuli, and trackways, girt the skirts of the ancient Forest of Arden, or hide within its borders. From the spot where the Avon crosses the Watling Street way, near the Roman station of *Triponium* on the east, to where the setting sun sinks behind the heights of the Ridge-way over the Roman station of *Alauna*, there is a well marked chain of fortified posts interspersed with the camps of the Roman legions, as well as by those striking tumuli which appear to have been used for the purpose of telegraphing signals of smoke by day and fire by night. They were the stations of the scouts and sentinels in times of danger. These tumuli are sometimes isolated, and crown the summit of a wooded knoll, as at Knightlow ; or are enclosed within the entrenchments, as in the neighbouring works at Brinklow. By the side of the Watling Street road, as it stretches to the north, within the old forest land, on every point of vantage, there are more earthworks, more fortifications, more tumuli. Amongst these the extensive remains at Oldbury and Hartshill, as well as the smaller camp at Seckington, are the most remarkable.

Along the southern frontier the most important remains are found at Brownsover, King's Newnham, Brinklow, Beau-sal Common, Kington Grange, and Oversley. Along the western boundary there are signs of entrenchments at Danes-bank and on three remarkable hills between Spernal and Morton Bagot. There is a large camp near Solihull Lodge, on the confines of Worcestershire. There are more entrenchments at Yardley ; but these are evidently of later date. The works at Castle Bromwich were of the most formidable description ; and as we approach the county of Stafford there are several small camps, now but imperfectly traced, on the way to Barr Beacon and King's Standing. Some of these remains have been long noticed ; others have only been found within the past month.

All these posts are situate on a rising ground overlooking the valley. They are escarp'd, as a rule, on one side. A stream of water is invariably near. The majority of them correspond so closely with the description given by Strabo and Cæsar of the *oppida* of the Britons, as to leave no doubt of their identity.

The first fortress or entrenchment on the south-east is at Brounsover, in the immediate neighbourhood of Rugby, which has been explored and accurately described by Mr. Matt. Bloxam. It is situated on a ridge separated from the high ground behind it by a small valley or ravine. The valley on the south, watered by the river Avon, was probably originally a morass. On the west is the river Swift. The remains themselves are not striking. On the north and west there is a triple row of ramparts or banks rising in terraces one above another, and there are indications on the south of something of the same kind. On the east there are indications of a vallum or rampart and foss running close by the burial-ground of the chapel. These appear unconnected and irregular. The implements found here are two bone polished implements, a mediæval arrow-head of iron, and an Elizabethan dag or pistol. There have been some ancient interments found in the neighbourhood. A British-Roman settlement at Cesterover adjoins the Watling Street. The Midland Railway runs close by; and during the necessary excavations pavements and Roman-British remains of a late period were found, showing marks of fire; but there are no visible signs of any entrenchments. This station seems to have depended on the Brownsover fortress for protection, in the same manner as King's Newnham, where many British relics, celts, and spoils of the chase, have been found, did upon Brinklow.

I have prepared a plan of the prominent earthworks at Brinklow, which are found on the very line of the Fosse-way which has been here diverted. For many miles round, the trees surmounting the large tumulus (one of the largest, indeed, in England) form a prominent object in the landscape. The earthworks, with their intervening ramparts, are on an extensive scale. The tumulus is nearly 200 feet in diameter at the base, and rises 100 feet above the level of the foss around it. The general plan and arrangement can be seen from the diagrams, which, though rough in appearance, are drawn correctly to a scale of ten yards to an inch. There is an ancient British covered way called "Tutbury Lane," which leads from the Avon at Bretford Bridge at right angles, nearly parallel with the Fosse-way, towards Brinklow Heath.

The line of the forts appears to be broken between this

point and Beausal Common. There are signs at Bubbenhall and Baginton of entrenchments; but they have been so disturbed as to render their form, and consequent identification, difficult. At both places the old lines have been altered in mediæval times. At Beausal Common the camp is singularly well marked, and commands a most extensive view, in which Kenilworth Castle forms a prominent object. It is somewhat oval in shape, five acres in extent, and the foss is deep and wide. There are but slight signs of an outer vallum. In this camp, on the south-east side, the remains of a subterranean chamber were discovered some years ago; and in removing the timber-framed house from a spot nearer the road, to its present situation within the enclosure, nearly eighty years ago, two iron cannon-balls of considerable size were found. These, I surmise, were dropped during the march of the troops to Meriden Camp during the troubles in 1745.

This camp is very similar to the perfect entrenchment in the neighbourhood of Kington Grange. This earthwork has been well preserved in consequence of its isolated position in Barmoor Wood. It is situated on the southern edge of a considerable elevation south of the river Alne, and north-west of Claverdon. The vallum and foss are very perfect, but so overgrown with trees and brushwood as to make an accurate survey impossible until the underwood is cut down. It is somewhat oval in form, 150 yards across, and, including the ditches, occupies a space of four acres. The table-land towards the Alne appears to have been also enclosed, as well as the hill to the north, on which there are signs of ramparts. It is not more than a mile and a half from the singular mound at Beaudesert, on which the De Montfords built their castle. This mound is of large size, and stands in the midst of a valley. From its ancient name (Donnilee) it is supposed to be of British origin, and deserves far more attention than has yet been paid to it. The mediæval castle which once occupied this commanding position was in ruins in the time of Edward III, and not a stone is at present visible.

About four miles south of this mound some very singular buildings were exhumed, between Wilmcote and Billesley, by the quarrymen a few years ago, but unfortunately no exact account has been preserved. Even the relics of the

chase which were found and preserved, have been since accidentally destroyed by fire. The buildings, or rather the foundations of buildings, which were found were roughly built of the blue lias stone of the district, of a circular shape, and varied considerably in size. The larger one was from 15 to 20 feet in diameter; and the smaller ones, of which there were several, were "like wells," and were filled with black earth, the spoils of the chase, horns, skulls, and bones; others contained water. Several skeletons were found in the neighbourhood; and one, which was carefully uncovered, was found stretched at full length. This skeleton measured 6 feet 3 inches from the crown of the head to the heel. Some bones were found also in what appeared to be a coffin, and one man found a sword. These have all disappeared.

The earthworks of Oversley, about a mile south-west of Alcester, deserve far more attention than they have yet received. They are connected by a covered way, or fosse-lane, with the river at Wixford. A mile to the north of Alcester there are some entrenchments called "Danesbanks," which may have an earlier origin. The Roman station of *Alauna* occupies some rising grounds by the side of the river between these.

The Danes' Camp, about five miles south of Birmingham, and half a mile from Solihull Lodge, contains nine acres, nearly the same area as the original plateau at Barwood, but is very irregular in shape.

The extensive earthworks at Castle Bromwich consist of a large tumulus surrounded by earthworks of a somewhat similar plan to those at Brinklow. The tumulus stands on the south bank, but far above the river. It is quite a prominent object in the landscape. It has a winding path to its summit, like the Dane John at Canterbury and the Donjon at Warwick. On the west the ground is much broken, and the outline irregular. I am much inclined to consider this an important work closely connected with Barr Beacon, from which it is distant some ten or twelve miles.

The earthworks in the neighbourhood of Sutton Coldfield have been described by Hutton in his *History of Birmingham*. The signs of them are now very faint, and in some instances have disappeared altogether.

The small work at Seckington (a plan of which is before you) is situated on the very edge of Staffordshire. In design

it is somewhat similar to the Brinklow encampment, but is without the intersecting rampart. These works have usually been attributed to the Saxons, in consequence of a battle being fought here in 857 between Cuthbred, king of the West Saxons, and Ethelbald, king of Mercia, when the latter was slain by Beornd, one of his military commanders, who reigned for a brief space in his stead. There are many indications to show that they are not Saxon in origin, and in this the opinions of skilled judges coincide.

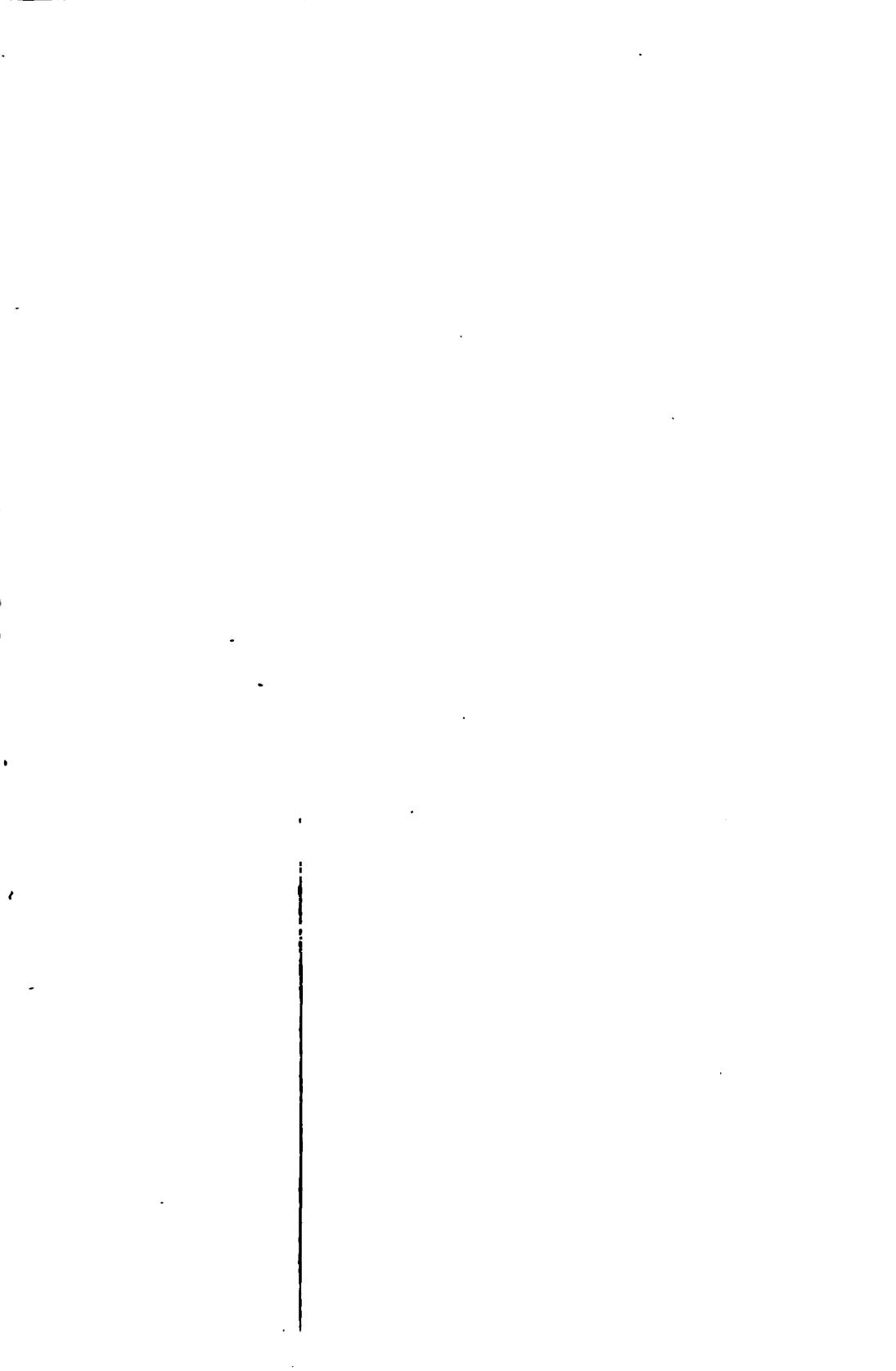
There are earthworks and tumuli along the Watling Street, between *Triponium* and *Benones*, where the fosse-way crosses it. The tumulus at Pilgrim's Low was demolished several years since, and a skeleton found beneath it. Cloudsley Bush, a tumulus on the Fosse (reputed to be the burial-place of Claudius, a leader of a cohort), is also demolished. There are earthworks and remains at Wolston, and a tumulus was cut through here when the London and Birmingham Railway was made. In it a British sepulchral urn and three drinking-cups were found.

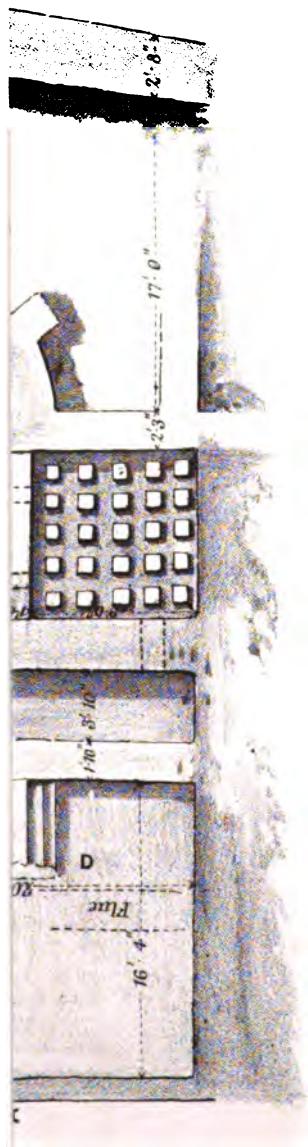
A singular custom is still preserved in connexion with the tumulus on Knightlow Hill, near Ryton on Dunsmore, of paying "scarth pence" on Martinmas morning; before sunrise. This is the third of the series of tumuli called "lows," which stretch along the frontier of Arden from east to west; the fourth is Motslow, in Stoneleigh Park; the fifth Blacklow, near Guy's Cliff; the sixth, Coplow; the seventh, Pathlow. Aston Cantlow is said to have derived its name from William de Cantilupe, in the time of King John; and I have not been able to find, at present, any signs of a tumulus here; but these places are not more than three to four miles apart, in a direct line. Along the eastern frontier the same arrangement is continued. The site of Cloudsley Bush and a tumulus near Leicester Grange complete the chain to the heights of Hartshill, where the ancient tumuli and entrenchments are hidden by a dense growth of underwood. Here have been found relics of Anglo-Saxon burials in the more ancient tumuli. The original funeral-deposit gave a sepulchral urn, a bronze dagger, and several drinking-cups, all of which have been preserved. In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford there is a flint celt found in the square entrenchment adjoining, at Oldbury, known to

us as the summer camp of the Roman legions stationed at *Manduessedum* in the vale below.

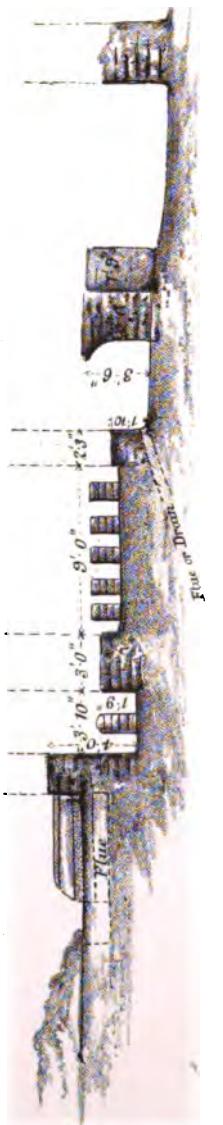
There are some indications of earthworks along the Fosse-way, which have not yet been carefully surveyed, in consequence of agricultural operations. Amongst these I may mention some entrenchments near Ufton, Frismore Hill in the parish of Radford, which seems to have a close connexion with Friz Hill near Compton Verney, where many Anglo-Saxon graves have been found. There are entrenchments on Red Hill, between Wellesbourne and Loxley. These seem to indicate that the hill-tops were fortified in the Warwickshire vale, outside the Forest boundaries.

These represent all the earthworks which have yet been noticed within the bounds of the Forest of Arden. The mounds at Tamworth and Warwick are undoubtedly British; and I may mention that near the latter some sepulchral tablets bearing Roman inscriptions were found many years ago. Their existence and history were unknown until a few days ago, when I was fortunate enough to find a clue to their present position, and an authentic account of their exhumation by Francis Earl of Warwick. They have not yet been deciphered; but they sufficiently prove that Warwick was a Roman station, if not the headquarters of the Cornavian cohort, which Camden alleged, but which modern historians have hitherto doubted.





SECTION ON A. B.



SECTION ON C. D.

NOTES ON THE FOUNDATIONS OF A ROMAN
VILLA AT TESTON, KENT.

BY J. W. GROVER, ESQ.

THE visitor to Roman Britain, seventeen hundred years ago, after a rough voyage from *Gesoriacum* (Boulogne), would have found himself landed at the strong fortress-gates of Richborough, the ancient *Rutupiæ*. Here, after partaking, it may be, of some of those famous oysters which Juvenal himself did not deem beneath the encomium of his muse, our traveller would start upon the hard, paved way for *Londonium*, in one of the postchaises of the period, without springs (as they now are in Hungary), but over a road which would astonish the Magyar or the Briton of the nineteenth century. Past the site of modern Ash, to the extensive suburbs of *Durovernum*, then unconsecrated by the towers of Canterbury Cathedral, the traveller would proceed; not without noticing the vast potteries of Upchurch stretching far away to his right, and the many handsome villas on both sides, till he came to the Medway at Rochester, or, as it was then called, *Durobrivæ*. At this point we must suppose him to turn left, to the south, leaving the London road, and following the course of the *Madus* (Medway), still in the territory of the Cantii (the most civilised and best known part of the country), he would find himself approaching the dense forest-land of *Anderida*, the famous home of the red deer, the charcoal-burner, and the ironworker of Roman Britain.

About four English miles from Maidstone, on the left side of the river, are to be seen the remains of a villa, which, perhaps, once formed the hospitable goal of the traveller's journey, but now is scarcely traced in the hop-gardens of Arthur Fremling, Esq., of Teston. The situation is pleasant, and, as is usual in Roman sites, well chosen, being on a crest of a gently sloping valley looking over the river. All that has been hitherto discovered is shown on the annexed diagram. (Plate 1.) The foundations are those of the thermal department of the villa. The *præfernium*, or stoke-hole, where the slave attended to the fires, is at c. Adjoining it we find

a passage leading into two hypocaust-chambers, each 9 feet square. In these are a number of square tile-pillars, $10\frac{1}{2}$ ins. square. They evidently formed the base of what was once the *sudatorium* or hot air room. These two apartments are separated by a small wall, through which there are two flue-openings. Adjacent to these will be noticed a semicircular bath (if such really was its purpose), 8 ft. 4 ins. on the chord, and 4 ft. 8 ins. on the versed side. At the bottom is a pipe for leading off the water. On the north side of the *sudatorium* will be noticed a long chamber, 20 ft. long, and 3 ft. 10 ins. wide; next to this another room, flagged, 20 ft. long and 16 ft. 4 ins. wide, which served as a kind of *apodyterium* or room for unrobing or dressing. There is a flue running along this, probably for warming it; and a kind of low wall, of which a section is given at A B, which seems to have served for a seat. A general section is given at C C, which explains the relative levels. The long central division was full of ashes when discovered. On the south side there is a thick wall, evidently the boundary of the villa in this direction. Further explorations in the direction of the walls, east and west, would probably lead to some interesting discoveries, and bring to light the chief apartments of the villa, where pavements might be expected to be found; but it is singular that there are no indications of mosaic work in what has been already opened.

It is interesting to note the great resemblance between these remains and those of the beautiful Gloucestershire villa of Chedworth, described by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth and by myself in preceding numbers of this *Journal*. We there find the same semicircular bath and the *sudatorium* double apartment, within a few inches of the same size as we have them here. But at Chedworth the apartments are still glowing with the bright colours of their mosaic floors in very perfect condition, and even the lead pipes of the baths are still *in situ*.

Mr. Fremling has promised to continue further excavations, and no doubt he will be well rewarded. Hitherto his labours have only brought to light the usual fragments of broken pottery, chiefly Upchurch and Caistor ware; a quantity of stags' horns and bones of animals, and a few coins of the Roman occupation.

From the site of the Teston villa can be seen the tower

of Barning Church in the distance. I need not describe to my antiquarian friends the unique Romano-Christian sarcophagus found there, with the yew tree and cross carved upon it,¹ as we see similar examples in the early Christian catacombs of Rome. Possibly this villa might have been the home of that early Roman Nazarene who afterwards reposed in that narrow but interesting tomb.

ON THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. PETER, WOLVERHAMPTON.

BY W. PARKE, ESQ.

IT is much to be regretted that no authentic account of the introduction of Christianity into England exists. The ancient Britons, like all other heathen nations, were idolaters, the knowledge of the true God being clouded by the prevailing superstitions of Druidism. At a very early period of the Christian era we know, from the testimony of Tertullian, Eusebius, and Theodore, that the Britons, with several other enumerated nations, "had embraced the religion of Him that was crucified," and that Christianity prevailed extensively in England previously to the arrival of the Saxons, and that episcopacy was from the first established amongst us, for we find that three British bishops, with a presbyter and a deacon, were present at the Council of Arles, A.D. 314. The Church also partook in the persecutions and the heresies which agitated the rest of the Christian world, and furnished her martyrs, St. Alban being the first who laid down his life for the faith. It was then, as Bishop Short states, oppressed and overwhelmed by the arrival of the heathen Saxon, who in his turn became the civilised convert to the faith he had once persecuted.

Of the foundation of a church in Wolverhampton nothing is known till about the middle of the seventh century, when Wulfere, King of Mercia (657-675), became a convert to Christianity, and an active promoter of the true faith. He is always spoken of by the writers of his time as a zealous Christian; and Speed, the historian, states that he "destroyed

¹ Described by C. Roach Smith and others.

all the temples wherein his heathen gods had been worshipped, converting them all into Christian churches and monasteries." On the recommendation of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, he appointed St. Chad, who had retired from the see of York, to the bishopric of Lichfield, which had been founded by Oswy, King of Northumberland, who by right of conquest had for a few years ruled in Mercia as viceroy. He also empowered St. Chad to build churches or monasteries in various parts of his kingdom. Some authorities state that he erected a temple here. From these circumstances it may reasonably be presumed that Wulfere, who might have had a residence here, was the founder of the first church in Wolverhampton, and that the town derived its name, or part of it, from him.

Long before this period there stood upon the "Hill of Hantune," which was then surrounded by woods and pastures, a Druidical temple in which pagan rites were celebrated. This temple was probably nothing more than a rude structure of timber and wattle thatched with reeds; but whatever it may have been, there can be little doubt that under the influence of Wulfere it became a place of Christian worship, and that the stately church of St. Peter was afterwards built upon its site, or very near it. It is not known how soon after this period an edifice of a more durable character was erected for religious purposes; but it is certain that a church or monastery was established here many years before Wulfruna's endowment, for in Archbishop Sigeric's *privilegium* to her to build a church in honour of the Blessed Virgin, there is not only a recital of her donations, but a confirmation of the estates which the church held in former times.

Wulfruna, called by Speed *inheritrix of the "towne Hampton,"* was the widow of Athelme, Earl of Northampton, and sister or near relative of King Ethelred II, who is also said to have further endowed the church with "great stores of land." The endowment of Wulfruna was for the maintenance of a dean and secular canons, and was made at three several times, the first in 996. Many of our historians have styled Wulfruna foundress of the church, and the munificence of her grants justly entitles her to the honour. The monastery she erected was attached to the church then standing, and great privileges were by incorpo-

ration conferred upon it, with exemption from the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, and it was subject to no terrene power but the supreme majesty of England. In 1054 Edward the Confessor granted a charter to the dean and canons, by which he confirmed Wulfruna's endowment and all prior grants made to them, and raised the church to the dignity of a royal free chapel ; adding the immunities of "sac" and "soc," that is, the right of a lord to exercise jurisdiction over his vassals.

At the Conquest, according to *Domesday Book*, the possessions of the church consisted of about two thousand acres of cultivated and two thousand acres of uncultivated land, besides some six hundred acres of forest, and half the wood in the King's forest, with ten acres of meadow. This rich establishment was conferred by William the Conqueror upon Sampson, his chaplain, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, who in the succeeding reign attached the whole to his see by a deed which was confirmed by Henry I, who gave a dwelling-house in Wolverhampton, with forty acres of land, for the maintenance of six priests serving the church there.

During the troubled times of Stephen the church was continually changing hands. Roger, Bishop of Sarum, and Chancellor and Treasurer of England, seized (probably with the connivance of the King) the church and revenues, part of which he alienated for ever ; but being imprisoned on a charge of high treason, he restored as much of the revenues as remained to the monks of St. Mary, Worcester, who were unable long to maintain their rights, which were transferred to the Bishop of Chester.¹ The King, however, soon afterwards, being convinced of his injustice, revoked the gift, and again restored to the monks of Worcester the church and revenues of Wolverhampton.

Henry II granted two charters to the dean and canons, which conferred upon them important privileges and liberties, and largely increased their possessions ; but while the

¹ The Bishops of Lichfield formerly bore different titles. In 1085 Peter Bishop of Lichfield transferred the see to Chester ; his successor, Robert de Limesey, removed it to Coventry ; Roger de Clinton in 1128 restored the see to Lichfield, and assumed the title of Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry ; the succeeding Bishops were, until the establishment of the comparatively modern diocese of Chester, sometimes called Bishops of Lichfield, Coventry, and Chester respectively ; but the title of Coventry and Lichfield was that most frequently used until, on the restoration of the monarchy, Bishop Hacket placed the name of Lichfield first.

revenues of the church were in this flourishing condition, the canons became so notoriously wicked and dissolute in their lives, as described by Petrus Blesensis, their dean, in his well known letter of complaint to Pope Innocent III, that after many expostulations and fruitless endeavours to reform them, he resigned his deanery into the hands of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, after a visit to Wolverhampton, finding the charges against them substantiated, proceeded to break up the establishment, and to replace the expelled canons by a convent of Regulars, who might be responsible to himself. He therefore obtained permission from King John to found a Cistercian abbey in the place of the dissolved college. The King gave the manor of Tettenhall, and made several grants towards the erection and support of the monastery; but the Archbishop dying A.D. 1205, before he had completed his intended work, his successor, Stephen Langton, restored the secular canons, and the monastic institution was abandoned. In the reign of Henry III the church was enlarged, and the designation of St. Mary changed to that of St. Peter. About this time a chantry chapel was built by Henry Prestwood, and endowed with lands for the support of a priest.

Two centuries later Edward III, in 1338, confirmed by charter the privileges of the chapter, which consisted of a dean, eight prebendaries, and a sacrist. The dean was Hugh Elys, who in 1342 procured from the King a writ for a commission to report on the state of the King's Free Chapel, which was found to be in a most dilapidated and ruinous state. The dean at once applied himself to its restoration, and from his persevering efforts the present magnificent structure arose. The then existing church was converted into a chancel, and the nave and the stately tower were added to it. The pulpit, one of the most beautiful specimens of its kind in the kingdom, was, according to Dolman, erected in 1480.

Edward IV annexed the deanery of Wolverhampton to that of Windsor, and they continued to be united till the reign of Edward VI, when the revenues were given to John Duke of Northumberland, who broke up the establishment, took down the images of the saints to whom the different chantries, chapels, and guilds were dedicated, and removed the high altar which had but a few years previously been

erected at a very great expense, Nicholas Leveson giving £40 towards the gilding alone of it.

One of the first acts of Queen Mary was to restore to the church all that had been alienated from it during the reigns of her predecessors. She reversed the patent of the Duke of Northumberland, and granted a charter reinstating the chapter in its previous condition; but the property was not entirely recovered, and the church lands were gradually being transferred to the Leveson family and other lay proprietors. Queen Mary also, by letters patent, again annexed the deanery of Wolverhampton to the deanery of Windsor. These letters patent were further confirmed by Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards by James I, who appointed the celebrated Marcus Antonius, who had been Archbishop of Spalatro, in Dalmatia, to be dean of Windsor and dean and first prebend of Wolverhampton. Another prebend, not less distinguished, was Joseph Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, a man of eminent piety and learning, the well known author of *The Contemplations* and other works, which gained for him the appellation of "the Christian Seneca."

It was not till the revolutionary war in the reign of Charles I that the church was again desecrated, when the town was in the possession of the Parliamentary troops. The sacrilegious rebels smashed the painted windows, tore up the brass-work of the tombs, destroyed the organ and the costly altar, and pillaged and took away all the ancient records, deeds, and other documents belonging to the college. They also destroyed a noble black marble tomb erected near the high altar, to the memory of the renowned Admiral Sir Richard Leveson; but the fine bronze statue which formed a part of it was fortunately saved by the forethought of Lady Katherine Leveson, who had it removed to Lilles-hall Church, where it was preserved till the Restoration, when it was brought back and placed in a niche in the great chancel. Here it stood till it was removed in 1840, by direction of the late Duke of Sutherland, into the south transept, which was formerly the burial-place of the Leveson family. This superb statue, executed by the eminent sculptor Hubert le Seuer, is considered his finest production, and excites the admiration of all who see it. In the northern transept, where, with others of his family, Colonel John Lane is buried, a monument is erected, on which his

loyal services to Charles II after the battle of Worcester are recorded. The south transept was formerly the site of three chantry chapels, Our Lady's, St. Loe's, St. George's and Piper's, and in the north transept was a chantry dedicated to St. Catherine.

It was probably from its connexion with the royal chapel of Windsor that the church remained undisturbed at the period of the Reformation; and when the rood-lofts and other relics of idolatry, as they were termed, were ordered to be removed, the churchwardens, who refused to carry out the directions which the dean had received, were excommunicated. The rood-loft was, however, taken down in 1572, when galleries were built and pews introduced into the church. To these particulars, many of which have been supplied by the excellent historical account of the Rev. Frederick Hall, and the more elaborate work of Dr. Oliver, little has now to be added.

In 1544 the chancel was fitted up with sixteen stalls, which were sent by Sir Walter Leveson from the dissolved monastery of Lilleshall. They were for the dean, seven prebendaries, the sacrist, three readers, and four singing men. There were also stalls at the east end of the nave for the clergy and choristers, with canopies over three of them, which remained till the new galleries and pews were erected in 1837-8.

In 1540 three bells, which are stated to have been purchased from Wenlock Abbey, were hung in the tower. The peal was afterwards completed at various times, and now consists of ten bells. The silver Communion-plate was presented to the church in 1713 by Lord Willoughby de Broke, who was then dean.

The deaneries of Windsor and Wolverhampton continued united until the death of Dr. Hobart in 1846, when the collegiate establishment ceased to exist, and St. Peter's Church became a rectory.

The latest restorations of the church were commenced in 1852, and completed in 1865, when the chancel was rebuilt with the addition of an apse, Mr. Christian being the architect. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners granted £3,000 towards the repairs of the nave, and £1,000 for the chancel, to which the Duke of Cleveland gave £1,000. The rest of the money (the total amount expended being not less than

£8,000, and including £500 by the Rector) was contributed by the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood.

To this account of the various vicissitudes and changes the church has undergone, it is satisfactory to add that a movement is now being made for the further improvement of the interior by taking down the galleries and remodelling the seating. It is earnestly hoped that these objects will be accomplished. The church will then be more complete in its arrangements, more beautiful in appearance, and all we see around us will harmonise with the holy and solemn feelings which should possess the mind upon entering the house of God.

ON ETOCETUM.

BY W. MOLYNEUX, ESQ., F.G.S., F.R.HIST.S.

ETOCEUM was one of the two large and important military stations established by the Romans in Staffordshire, at a period, in all probability, immediately succeeding the subjugation of the people by whom the surrounding country was occupied. Whether or not the site itself had been previously held as a post of defence by any portion of these inhabitants is an open question, but there is evidence in the existing earthworks at Castle-old-Fort, Aldridge Hints, Castle-ring, which are within sight,—and also, doubtless, of numbers of others which only retain a clue to their history and purposes in the names by which they are known,—that the hill on which Etocetum stood was surrounded by a series of towns, and military posts which the Romans found occupied and defended by a large population of the early British race. It may, however, be said that the position itself scarcely accords with that usually selected by the Britons for their entrenchments; but it is exactly of the description which fell in with the requirements of the Romans, namely the crest and flanks of a hill, not too steep, but overlooking on almost every side a large and far-stretching tract of country, and having at its foot a clear bright running stream, bordered by an almost impassable stretch of morass or swampy ground; the one securing an abundant supply of water, the other an outer line of defence to their otherwise strong position. Here also is the intersecting point of two

of their great military thoroughfares or streets, the Watling and Icknield ; a fact which, whether or not it had aught to do primarily in their selection of the site for the erection of fortifications, must nevertheless have contributed materially to the importance of which it undoubtedly at once became possessed, immediately after the selection was made, as the military centre of a large and thickly populated district of Midland Britain.

By what means Etocetum, after the departure of its Roman builders, became a buried city is unknown. It does not appear to have been occupied by the Saxons, inasmuch as in the simple word "*wall*" characteristically applied to it by those people, we have evidence of its early ruinous condition ; and the probability is that during the wars to which Romano-Britain was subjected, the place was destroyed or rendered unserviceable as a means of refuge or occupation. From the time of its evacuation by the Romans in the fifth to the first decade of the seventeenth century, Etocetum, except, as the hamlet of Wall, ceased to hold a place in contemporary history ; but about the year 1607 Camden, the historian, visited and identified it as the important station of Etocetum laid down by Antoninus in his *Itinerary*.

Since Camden's time, however, the place has been examined and described by Plot, Stukeley, Shaw and other writers, from whom we have a few particulars of much interest, but necessarily extremely limited in detail, as to the general character and condition of the remains. Plot states that he saw "great ruins of walls equidistant 12 feet, and 12 feet high, like square cellars ; and that the walls were 3 feet thick." These buildings, he says, were in a field called "the Butts," and according to the common talk of the villagers were the remains of a temple. He also speaks of coins of Nero, Domitian, and others being found here, and describes "the castle as having stood in the north-west angle between the Watling Street and another road going to Lichfield upon a gentle southern declivity. The old walls are founded upon a solid rock, and much more of them were left within memory ; now they pull them down to build withal." Subsequently, in the year 1690, a gold Otho is recorded as having been found here ; Plot also says that no doubt there were houses all the way from the castle to the

brook, and that on the south side of Watling Street, in a field called "Chesterfield Crofts," some specimens of very fine red ware with figures of bucks upon them, together with flower-pots and other antiquities, were discovered, and he also figures the pedestal of a column found at Chesterfield, which he considers may have been from the temple which is supposed to have occupied the site of the present church. Shaw figures and describes a "real Roman *vallum*, or military barricade extending from Wall northward through Pipe Hill, parallel to the brook, which passing east of Pipe Hill goes through Wall. This wooden fortification was composed of the whole trunks of oak trees, standing on end close to each other, and fixed some depth in the ground. They were 12 feet long and from 10 to 12 inches diameter in the heart, and each piece had a cavity of four inches wide, and three feet long from the top, cut down its middle evidently for a look out, or for the purpose of discharging weapons on an assailant without being themselves exposed." Shaw also describes the barricade as being upwards of 500 yards in length, and strengthened with flanking bastions, and he concludes by stating it to have been "a Roman fortification of uncommon magnitude and no doubt erected in the reign of Hadrian about A.D. 120."

The exposed portions of the remains of Etocetum have been described by other writers, but they do not add much to the interest contained in Plot's and Shaw's works, except to show that they were then more numerous and in a better state of preservation than now. These descriptions, however, were not explanatory of the results of any special or systematic exploration of the place, but rather of what had been turned up accidentally by the plough, or by casual excavations, and consequently, although as a matter of course possessed of considerable interest, they cannot be accepted as illustrating in a proper or equivalent degree the resources of the place in works of antiquity and historical value. Another of these accidental "finds" was a sarcophagus, containing a body in an excellent state of preservation, which I am informed occurred on the widening of the road through Wall some years ago.

I believe that to my friend Mr. Robert Garner, F.L.S., the well-known naturalist and historian of this county, is due the credit of first suggesting and then practically car-

rying out in a limited degree the idea of a systematic examination of Etocetum, and about fourteen years ago he showed by the result of a few days' excavations what was likely to be achieved by more strenuous and persistent efforts. "In the castle croft," he says, "two trenches brought up pottery of four different kinds, a broken ring of bronze, also portions of the upper and lower stones of a quern. Another trench, dug northwards through the foundations of the wall from which the place is named, brought to light the base of a square apartment, with its walls of strong masonry, and its floor of plaster laid on extremely hard concrete. This apartment had been plastered and coloured in red, green, yellow, and white, with well-made stripes. There were also numerous pieces of large tiles turned up at the side, and notched and bevelled at the corners. One brick had P. S. upon it, others double circular rings, cross-scorings, or the marks of fingers. A brass stud, a coarse earthen patera, slates, nails, oyster shells, charcoal, bones of the ox and horse, three coins, one apparently a Nero, a second with an emperor's head, the reverse having a figure and the words 'Genio populi Romani.' " These, the results of three or four days' exploration, are now deposited in the Lichfield Museum, and I have copied Mr. Garner's description of what he did, as agreeing in a large degree with what has been yielded by the present excavations. These excavations, I may be permitted to explain, were commenced in the hope that something would be turned up worthy of the visit and individual interest of the members of the British Archæological Association, and although it would be difficult to define the line where that individual interest ceases, it is hoped that the renewed and much-desired attempt to successfully exhume the relics and unearth the history, so to speak, of a city of the grandeur, wealth, and importance of Etocetum, will meet with the best wishes and kindly encouragement of the Association generally.

In the few days since these excavations¹ were commenced in the castle croft, we have laid open a small chamber, the walls of which are about two feet thick. Whether these are the apartments described by Plot, and which were in all probability public baths, is uncertain; but there is no ques-

¹ Undertaken and conducted by Colonel John Bagnall, Captain Webster, and the author.

tion that the whole of the space between this point and the brook is occupied by the foundations of buildings.

So far we have met with no coins, but we have examples of Samian ware; black, brown, and red pottery, both plain and ornamental; large, thick quarries, 1 foot square; fragments of roofing tiles, quarries with double circular rings, plaster with floral design, lead, drain-pipes, bones of deer and wild boar, together with blocks of concrete made up of pounded brick and (Walsall) lime, also pebbles and lime, and a great variety of other remains connected with buildings.

We have also laid bare the wall from which the village derives its name, and find it built externally of sandstone laid in regular courses, and filled in with coarse concrete. It is 3 feet thick, and runs due north and south.

In the orchard, to the south of Mr. Line's residence (to whom we are indebted for the kindness of allowing the excavations to be made), we have also laid bare a portion of the south wall of the castle; and we hope to follow both this and the western wall till we come to one or more of the gateways by which the town was entered.

As a matter of course, the present excavations are merely preliminary; and it will probably occupy a considerable time to carry out the present intentions and design of the work. There is no question that originally Etocetum extended from near Pipe Hill to Chesterfield, having a frontage to the west of over a mile in length. How far it spread eastwards over the hill is at present difficult to say; but concluding it to have been half the distance of its western flank, we shall have no great difficulty in arriving at an approximate notion as to its extent, the population it contained, and the importance it possessed as a military station in this county.

I may remark here that we look forward to the discovery of the cemetery with much interest. It, in all probability, was situated not far from the intersection of the Watling and Icknield Streets, just outside the town; and it is intended also to push on the investigations to Chesterfield; in fact, to lay bare as much as possible of this Roman station; to unravel, bit by bit, its wonderful history; and to show, as there is every reason to believe can be shown, that we have in Staffordshire, at Wall, remains of an ancient Roman town as interesting and important as Uriconium.

ON THE FAMILY OF THE GIFFORDS.

BY J. B. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P.

THE Giffords, Giffards, or Giffarts, were one of the most illustrious and powerful of those Anglo-Norman families from which it is the pride of an Englishman to trace his descent. Strange to say, when I have stated this fact I have told you nearly everything about the Anglo-Norman Giffords which can be supported by credible authority. I have dedicated a considerable portion of the leisure of nearly thirty years to the search after documents which would enable me to fill up gaps in the pedigree, substantiate the assumptions of modern genealogists, and demonstrate the descent of the various lines from Walter, the kinsman and companion of the Conqueror, to the small farmers and humble husbandmen who, at the close of the seventeenth century, toiled and died in the parish of Ash, next Sandwich, or the petty tradesmen who earned a scanty but respectable living in London or in some of the provincial towns in England. It has been a labour of love, but hitherto a labour in vain. Since the foundation of this, the parent of all the local and peripatetic archaeological societies, a vast amount of information has been obtained respecting our Anglo-Norman ancestors; but nothing whatever to enlighten us respecting the Giffords, Earls of Buckingham, or their collateral branches. Even the origin of the name of Gifford, Giffard, or Giffart, borne by this family, has yet to be discovered. The story that has been so often told about it, viz., that it signified a free-handed or liberal giver, is without any substantial foundation; and is, I believe, one of the many which have been so detrimental to the study of genealogy and heraldry, by misleading the inquirer, or checking research altogether.

It is upon the authority of Guillaume de Jumièges, a chronicler of the eleventh century, that Walter Giffart, the first we know of that name, has been set down as a son of Osbern de Bolbec by his wife, indifferently called Avelina and Duvelina, sister of Gonor, wife of Richard Duke of Normandy. Granting this to be true, as we have no documentary evidence to contradict it, the appellation of Giffart or

Giffard appears to have been a *sobriquet* of some description, as it is not the name of any castle, manor, or property, known to have been in the possession of the said Walter; in which case he would have been distinguished as “*de Giffart*”; and therefore must have been bestowed on him, or some earlier member of the family, in consequence of some well-known habit or peculiar feature. Hence the complimentary suggestion of “free giver,” which I should be happy to leave undisputed, could it be borne out by etymology. The family, however, was Norman, not Saxon; and it is in the Norman French, or the low Latin of the eleventh century, that we must look for its signification. The word occurs in both these dialects. In Roquefort’s *Dictionnaire de la Langue Romane*, “Giffarde” is rendered “Joufloue,” “qui a des grosses joues, servante de cuisine”; the word being derived from *giffe*, “the cheek;” *giffle* also signifying, in the same language, *un soufflet*, or “blow on the cheek.” An old French poet, Gautier de Coisni, complains that women of every class paint themselves, even the *torche-pot*, “scullion,” and the *giffarde*, “kitchen-maid or cook.” Du Cange, in his *Glossary*, under the word “Giffardus,” has the same interpretation, “*ancilla coquina*”; and adds the information that the term was applied also to a particular species of falcon known as the *ger-falcon*; wherefore does not appear, but probably from the peculiar conformation of the bird’s head.

So many analogous cases might be cited, were it necessary to do so in such an assembly, in proof of the existence in all countries of the practice of applying sobriquets founded on personal peculiarities to distinguish certain members of a family previous to the general establishment of hereditary surnames, that there could be no hesitation in believing the name of Giffard to have been derived from the shape of the face of the first bearer, had it not been continued, not only by his direct descendants, but by all their collaterals, male and female. The supporters of the other derivation are, however, in the same predicament, as in their case we find a whole family designated as “free-givers,” an excess of liberality on their part, as I fear hereditary virtues are less probable than hereditary features. I therefore decline adopting their suggestion, while I by no means insist on the accuracy of my own, which has simply the advantage of being founded on the fact that Giffard in the language of

that day signified a person with large cheeks, and was in consequence applied to a cook, who is popularly represented as fat and rubicund.

Without wasting further time on such speculations let us proceed to ascertain all that we can respecting the position and acts of the first Walter Giffard. At the time of the conquest he was undoubtedly Seigneur of Longueville, in Caux in Normandy, the defence of which latter district Wace informs us was confided to him by Duke William on the invasion of the Duchy by the French in 1054. Twelve years subsequently Walter accompanied William to England, having furnished towards the fleet, according to the list published by Taylor, thirty vessels and a hundred men. Previous to the battle we are informed by Wace that Raoul de Conches, the hereditary standard bearer of Normandy, having prayed quittance of service on that day, in order that he might fight with greater freedom in the field, the Duke called to him Walter Giffard, and desired him to bear his gonfannon, who also requested to be excused the honour, on the plea of being too old and too feeble. "For the mercy of God, sire," said the brave old knight, "look upon my white and bald head, my strength is impaired, I am short of breath;" and in answer to the Duke's passionate reproaches, urged that he had a large contingent of men-at-arms in the field whom he was bound to lead into action, and at the head of them he was ready to die in William's cause. The duke, affected by his words, assured him that he loved him more than ever, and that if he survived that day it should be better for him (Walter Giffard) as long as he lived. The same writer also informs us that Duke William was mounted on that day on a fine horse, which Walter Giffard had brought him from St. Jago de Compostella, in Spain, as a present from a king, who had a great friendship for him, no doubt Alfonso, King of Gallicia, to whom the duke had promised his daughter Agatha, after the match was broken off between that princess and Harold. These incidents, more or less to be depended on, form the sum of all we at present know of Walter Giffard the elder, who is said to have died about 1084, having founded the priory of Saint Michel de Bolbec in 1079, and married a daughter of Gerrard Flaitel, by whom he had a son named Walter, and a daughter named Rohais or Rohesia. He had also a

second son named William, who was Chancellor to William Rufus, made Bishop of Winchester by Henry I, in 1107, and died in 1128.

There can be no doubt, I think, that the first Walter Giffard who fought at Hastings was the person to whom William the Conqueror gave the earldom of Buckingham, for, old as he is said by Wace to have represented himself on that occasion, he lived eighteen years afterwards, was one of the commissioners entrusted by William to superintend the compilation of the great survey of England, and I can find no reason whatever for the ordinary assertion that his son, the second Walter, was the first earl. Dugdale, who correctly names the Walter Giffard of Domesday as the first Earl of Buckingham, confounds him nevertheless with his son by dating his death 1102 instead of 1084.

Walter Giffard, second Earl of Buckingham, married Agnes, sister to Anselm de Ribeumont, and Ordericus Vitalis informs us that fifteen years after marriage she gave birth to a son named Walter. Unfortunately he does not give us the date either of the marriage or of the birth of this son, and we are therefore deprived of evidence which might shed important light upon this at present very unsatisfactory pedigree. Walter the second died 15th of July, 1102 (2nd of King Henry I), but we have no statement of his age at that period, and are therefore left to conjecture that he died in the prime of life, having been married to Agnes de Ribeumont according to a common practice of that period in almost childhood, which might account for the length of time between the marriage and the birth of his heir, or we must presume that during those fifteen years he had other children who died in infancy, besides his daughter Isabella who survived and married the Chatelan de Gisors.

His younger brother, the Bishop of Winchester, survived him twenty-six years, which seems to support the first proposition. That he left his son a minor we have the testimony of Vitalis, who tells us that after his father's death his mother carefully educated him till he arrived at manhood, and managed his hereditary domains for him with great prudence. Unhappily her conduct appears to have not been equally meritorious in other respects ; but as it does not seem to have affected the succession of the Giffards I shall not rake up a scandal seven hundred and seventy-seven

years old. Our business is with the son and not with the mother.

This son, then, the third Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham, a minor, as I have said, at his father's decease, was at the battle of Bremule or Noyon, 20th August, 1119 (nineteenth year of the reign of Henry I), and in that king's reign confirmed to the Priory of Newton Longueville, in Buckinghamshire, all the gifts of his father, Walter Giffard, and of his mother Agnes, for the health of their souls, of his own, and of his wife Ermenger. Of whom the latter lady, called by some writers Ermentrude and by others Ermengarde, was the daughter, has also to be discovered. Not the least hint do we find of her family or connexions. She appears to have had no issue by her husband according to all our authorities, for upon his death, which is stated by Robert du Mont to have occurred in 1164, the earldom became extinct, and a portion of the estates passed ultimately to the families of De Clare and Marshall, descended from Rohesia, the great aunt of the last Earl Walter.

Before I offer any observations respecting the branch of the Giffards of Chillington, let us examine a little more closely the collateral lines of their kinsfolk, the Lords of Longueville. Assuming that the first Walter Giffard we hear of was the son of Osbern or Osbert Seigneur de Bolbec en Caux, for we have really no conclusive evidence of that fact to start with, and must rely upon the assertion of the monk of Jumièges (a most valuable and veracious writer, but at the same time not absolutely infallible, as it has been proved), the said Walter must have succeeded to his father's estates in 1063, three years before the invasion of England. Now, was he the only son of Osbert and Avelina or Duvelina ? The same contemporary chronicler, on whom we must rely for his paternity, informs us that he had a brother of no less importance than Godefroi Seigneur d'Arques, known to us more familiarly as Geoffrey de Arches, and whom M. de la Chenaye des Bois in his *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse* calls Godefroy Giffart, giving him a son named Guillaume Giffart, whose daughter Mahaud became the wife of Guillaume de Tancarville, and another son named Gocele or Goceline Seigneur de Dieppe.¹ In Domesday also,

¹ As early as 1034 there was a Gocelin d'Arques, Vicomte de Rouen, and founder of the monastery of St. Trinity of Rouen, who, with the consent of

that invaluable record, the compilation of which, as I have already mentioned, the first Walter Gifford was appointed to superintend, we find a Berenger Gifford holding Font-hill in Wiltshire, and an Osbert Gifford, Brimsfield in Gloucestershire, the latter being, according to Dodsworth, the son of a Hugh Giffard *Seigneur de Boeuf*, in Normandy, another brother of the first Walter. Then there was a Hugh de Bolbec, who was in the battle of Hastings with Walter Giffart, and held lands under him, with others of the name of Bolbec, apparently descended from the same stock, besides a line of Giffards in Brittany and Normandy brought down by French genealogists to nearly the fourteenth century.

Who is to take up the ends of all these threads and trace them to their origin ? The French genealogists assert that the third Walter Gifford in lieu of dying *sine prole* had three sons, Guillaume Comte de Longueville, living 1173, Hugues, Chevalier in 1171-3, and Richard, Chevalier, in 1176 ; that Guillaume had a son of the same name, who succeeded him as Comte de Longueville, and that both he and his father assumed the title of Earl of Buckingham. That Guillaume the second had the Comté of Longueville taken from him by Philip Augustus *circa* 1224 for having sided with the English, and that said Guillaume, by his wife Petronilla (no family named) had four sons, Guillaume the third ; Renaud Conseiller de Philippe le Hardi, 1289 ; Geoffrey *Seigneur de Plessis-Giffart*, 1291 ; and Robert, named in a charter to the Abbey of Sainte Melanie de Rennes.

That these three Guillaumes were descended in the direct line from Walter Giffard, third Earl of Buckingham, and his countess Ermenger may justly be doubted, notwithstanding "the chapter and verse" so confidently quoted in support of the statement ; but that such persons existed, and were men of consideration and official position in those days cannot be disputed, and the interesting question arises in what relation did these Giffarts stand to the Earls of Buckingham in England and their collaterals ?

Whence those collaterals branched from the parent stock is also at present an undecided point. The inference to be drawn from such scraps of information as I have been able

Robert Count of the Normans, gave to that house the land of Corbuzon with all its appendages.

to collect is that the first Walter Giffard, who married the daughter of Gerrard Flaitel, had two kinsmen, brothers or nephews, viz., Berenger Giffard of Fonthill, and Osbert Giffard of Brimsfield, both living in 1086, and consequently his survivors. Osbert of Brimsfield appears to have had a son, named Elias, who married a lady with the baptismal name of Ala (family unknown), and was a great benefactor to St. Peter's at Gloucester. They had two sons, Elias and Gilbert; from the eldest descended the Giffords of Brimsfield and from the second the Giffords of Chillington. But how? That they did descend from Gilbert I do not dispute; but in the pedigree in Dodsworth's MSS. marked Q Q, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, there is a wavy line which connects William Gifford, the immediate ancestor of the Chillington family, and his sister Margaret (unnamed by Dodsworth), the wife of Peter Corbucion or Corbizon, with Gilbert, the son of Elias and Ala. It is unfortunate, not to say reprehensible, that Dodsworth should have drawn such a line without recording the most indubitable proofs of the facts which justified him in so doing. In the absence of such proof I should willingly disregard the indication were there any evidence, however slight, which could fairly be produced to invalidate it.

My respect for truth compels me to admit that I have hitherto searched in vain for any charter or contemporary document which throws a light one way or other on the question, and that neither I nor any other genealogist I am aware of can produce a pedigree of the Giffords of Chillington which can be authenticated to a generation earlier than that of Peter, the son of William, and nephew by marriage of Peter Corbucion of Chillington, who had taken to wife his aunt Margaret¹, the reputed daughter of Gilbert Giffard, son of Elias of Brimsfield. From that period the descent is perfectly clear, and the benefit of the doubt can fairly be claimed by those who question the authority of Dodsworth.

A few words respecting the armorial bearings of the Giffords. The three first Walters have had attributed to them by the heralds of the sixteenth century, *gules*, three

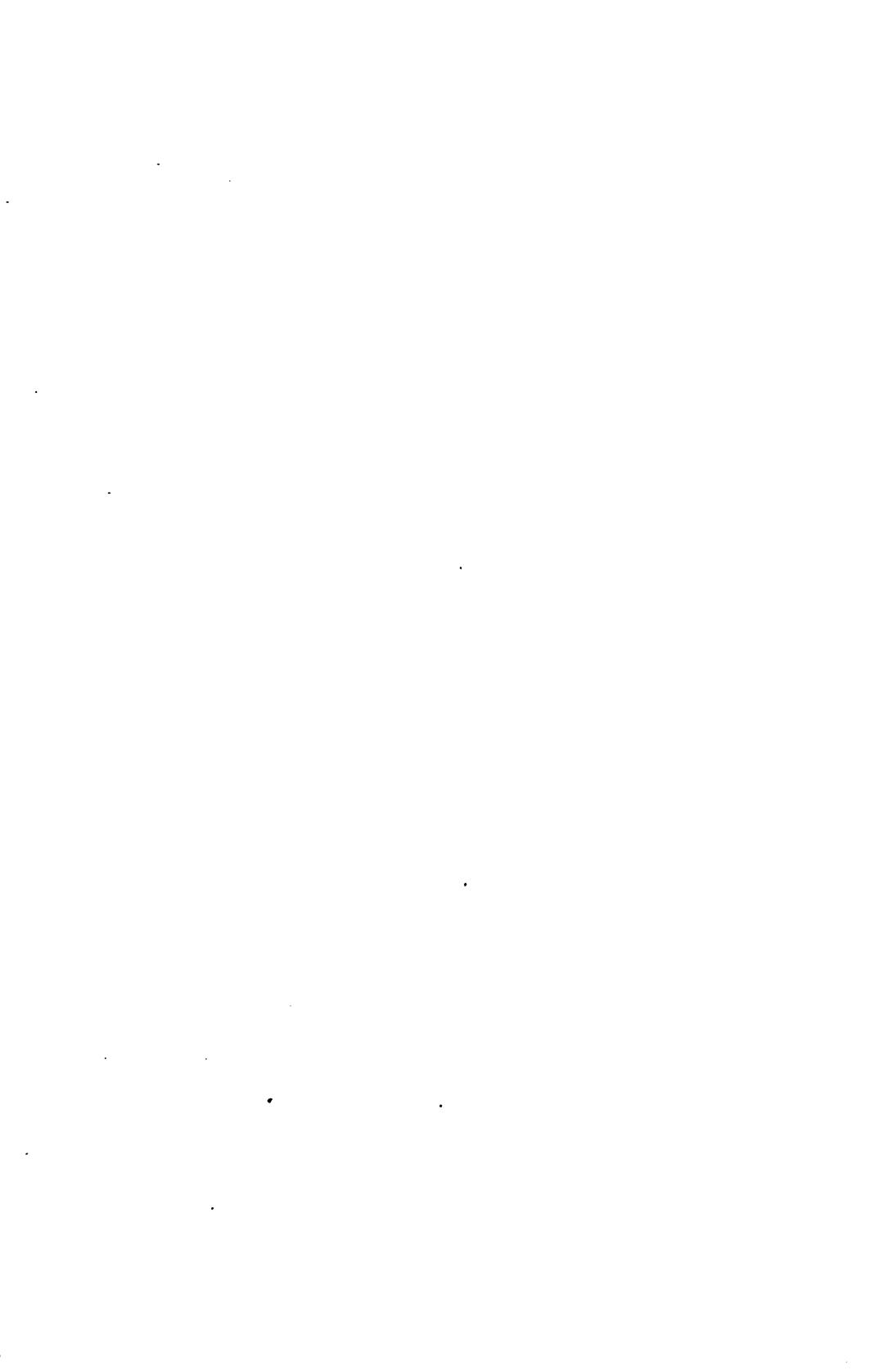
¹ Peter Corbuson grants to Peter Gifford, nephew of his wife, the manor of Chillington, for the service of half a knight; Peter Gifford paying twenty marks for the concession of William, son of Peter (Corbuson), and five marks to Margaret, wife of the said Peter. Witnesses: Henry de Montfort, Roger Murdac, and others. (Extract from a Chillington deed, s. d.)

lions passant guardant *argent*; but as the third Walter, Earl of Buckingham, died in 1167 he is the only one likely to have borne an heraldic coat of any description, and there is no authority whatever for ascribing that or any other to him. Nearly one hundred years afterwards the Giffords of Brimsfield certainly bore such a coat differenced by a label of five points *azure*, and in one instance by a border *argent*, but the earliest appearance of three lions, or leopards as they were called by the heralds of that day, placed as they are still in the arms of England, is on the shield of Richard I, in his second seal after his return from his captivity in Germany, previous to which he seems to have borne two lions combatant. That three lions passant guardant in pale were borne by any one as early as 1167 I venture to say cannot be shown to have the slightest foundation in fact.

The Giffords of Chillington bore an entirely different coat, *azure*, three stirrups *or*; but whence derived, or by whom first assumed, is another of the many mysteries we have yet to elucidate. My first impression was that it was assumed by Peter Gifford, on his becoming possessed of Chillington by the gift of Peter Corbucion or de Studleigh as he was sometimes called from his land in Warwickshire, and might have been the arms of that family, as it was a common custom of that age for a man on his marriage with an heiress, or his inheritance of an estate to abandon his own family arms for those of his wife's or of the testator; a custom indeed which is still in existence, and if there were any foundation for Dodsworth's uncertain line, the probability of the assumption would be still greater. There is another suggestion, however, which I fling out simply to stimulate inquiry. There is a manor in Nottinghamshire indifferently spelt Styrap, Stirop, and Sturrop, which was possessed in the twelfth century by Gerrard de Styrap, whose son, another Gerrard, married a lady named Matilda, by whom he had a son who styled himself Philip de Ellcot and a daughter named Alice. Philip, who held Styrap and many other manors, died without issue by his wife Joan, daughter and co-heir of Robert de Menel, and Alice, distinguished as the "Lady of Styrap," and four younger sisters became his heirs. Whom the lady of Styrap married I have not yet ascertained, but she was the mother of three sons, the eldest of whom styled himself Ingeram de Styrap. Now we have no know-

ledge of the lady who was mother of William Giffard, father of Peter, nor of the wife of Peter himself, who is supposed to have married a daughter, some say a sister, of Peter Corbucion ; if a daughter she would have been, according to Dodsworth, his first cousin ; but we have no proof one way or the other, and be it as it may I acknowledge a leaning to the idea that the three stirrups are some way connected with the manor above mentioned. That the Giffards were connected with the de Styrap through the Musards is shown by the fact that the 10th of Henry III, A.D. 1226, Ralph Musard, brother-in-law of John Gifford of Brimsfield married Isabel, sister of Joan de Styrap, and at that time widow of John de Nevil. Matilda, daughter of Elias Gifford of Brimsfield by his first wife Isabel de Musard married a de Scudamore, whose descendants also bore three stirrups, and as late as the reign of Elizabeth a Gifford is found holding land in Styrap. A branch of the Giffards of Brimsfield held land in Wiltshire under the Scudamores in 1166 (*Liber Niger Carta Gadifredi de Scudimora, Wiltseire*). Was there any connection at that date between the de Styrap and the de Scudamores ? The deplorable practice of our early genealogists of continually omitting to record the wives of the knights and nobles whose pedigrees they have handed down to us has involved the inquirer of the present day in difficulties almost insuperable, and deprived us of information of the greatest value to the biographer and the historian ; but heraldry, that much abused because little understood science, comes often to our aid when all other means fail us, and in this case I think its indications are well worthy consideration. Nearly every line of the Gifford family bore a different coat to that of Brimsfield, though emanating from that stock. The Giffords of Twyford, descended from Osbert, brother of the last named Elias of Brimsfield, bore, barry of six, a lion passant in chief, and those of Worcester and Weston-under-Edge, descended from Hugh, another brother of the same Elias, bore six torteaux, the arms still used for the see of Worcester, held by his son Bishop Godfrey in the fourteenth century, as those of Hereford retain the leopard's head jessant fleurs de lys of Bishop Cantelupe.

Passing from arms to crests I cannot omit to mention the preposterous sensational story invented to account for the two borne by the Giffords of Chillington since the time of



Onz John Goffins de Cheshyngton, iiii com stafford
Cifra freniana



Henry VIII, in the 15th of whose reign that of the archer was granted by Wriothesly, Garter, and Benoilt *Clarencieux*, 17th July, 1523, to Sir John Gifford of Chillington "to be used on his standard," the panther's head erased, guardant *proper*, spotted *or*, *gules*, *vert* and *blue*, with flames issuing from the mouth, having been granted or confirmed ten years previously. Had they been assumed in commemoration of such an event, tiger and man would have formed one crest and not been divided as they were borne on the standard, *vide* Plate 1*. No allusion is made to it in either grant, nor is there any record of any circumstance which could have been exaggerated into such a story to be found amongst the Gifford muniments. The panther's head is borne alone as the crest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and never the archer, and the tradition is evidently one of the many which have had their origin in an attempt to account for remarkable and unexplained heraldic insignia.

I must now hasten to conclude what I myself feel is a very unsatisfactory paper. I have disputed nearly every point in the received pedigrees and I have proved nothing. My only defence is that as far as I know no one has yet proved anything. All previous genealogists whose labours on the subject, printed or in manuscript, I have had an opportunity of consulting, contradict each the other, and confound persons and generations in the most bewildering manner. My acute and erudite friend and predecessor, Mr. William Courthope, Somerset Herald, one of the ablest antiquaries in this special field of research that I ever knew, was officially employed in compiling a pedigree of one branch of the Giffords, and in consequence visited Oxford and studied the elaborate pedigree in Dodsworth's collections to which I have so frequently alluded. Knowing the interest I have for so many years taken in this particular subject, he kindly communicated to me all his notes; and his own Gifford pedigrees with all the evidences he could collect from the public records are now in the College of Arms, most interesting and valuable as respects individual members of the various branches, but deficient in that most important point, the proof of lineal descent. My gallant friend, Colonel the Hon. George Wrottesley, has, like myself, been for many years employed in the same pursuit.

I shall rejoice to learn that he had in family papers, charters, or title deeds been fortunate enough to light upon any the slightest information which can authenticate one of the many uncertain points in the pedigree previous to the fourteenth century. Up to the present time his labours, as well as those of his brother the Hon. Charles, have been in vain. It is too provoking to reflect that the family of the Giffords stands amongst the foremost on the roll of fame. Near kinsmen of our Norman kings, and whose descendants have exercised the highest civil and ecclesiastical power in this country, and yet less is really known of them than of hundreds of honest yeomen or simple gentlemen whose names would be looked for in vain in our English annals. There are men I feel convinced who, with the blood of Rollo in their veins, are unconscious of their descent, tilling the soil of which their ancestors were once the lords.

Proceedings of the Association.

8TH JANUARY, 1873.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were returned for the following presents :

To the Society, Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, for Journal, vol. ii, Fourth Series. No. 11. 8vo. Dublin, 1872.

„ „ Royal Archæological Institute, for Journal. No. 11. 8vo. London, 1872.

„ „ Sussex Archæological Society, for Collections, vols. 23, 24. 8vo. Lewes, 1871, 1872.

Mr. J. W. Baily sent for exhibition another assemblage of ancient relics exhumed during the past year in the City, the present selection appertaining in the main to the person and toilet. The following are specially worthy of notice. Three good-sized, ribbed, globose beads of white frit covered with cupriferous glaze. These fine and curious green beads are of the kind not unfrequently met with in ancient sites in England, but which occur in far greater numbers in Egypt; and it is a fair inference that they were exported by merchants from the latter country, and thus dispersed through Western Asia and Europe.

Two *spatulae* of bronze with narrow ovate blades, used probably for pomade and ointments, such as *dropax* or *peilothrum*. Similar implements of silver, bronze, ivory, and bone, have been discovered, with other toilet articles, in Italy and France.

Pair of *volsella*, or tweezers, united to an *auriscalpium*, or ear-pick, both being of bronze. For a notice of such objects, see *Journal*, xvii, p. 226.

A *cultus tonsorius* of iron, which was not only employed in shaving, but the sharp point of its broad-backed blade was likewise used as a nail-implement, as seems implied by Horace (*Ep. i, 7, 51.*)

Two examples of the later Roman *pecten*, or toilet-comb, both of bone, and provided with a double row of teeth. One has the teeth of equally small size on either side the middle bar, which is incised with

the eyelet-hole or ring and dot pattern. The other is a large-toothed comb, the teeth of which, on one side, are very much coarser than those on the opposite side of the flat bar.

The last of the Roman remains to mention is a nearly semicircular hook with a straight shaft, the end of which is bent into a ring, the entire length of the implement being nine inches. The purpose of this iron article is as yet undetermined, the surmises that it is a drag-hook, a gigantic fish-hook, or a small sickle in progress of manufacture, being too visionary to be entertained. Mr. H. Syer Cuming has two hooked implements, one of which was certainly, and the other most probably, intended for the same use as the specimen in question. The largest was exhumed in Stoney Street, Southwark, in 1865, and measures eight inches and five-eighths in length, the end of the shaft being turned into a ring on one side. The other was found in Tokenhouse Yard, Lothbury, in 1865, and is rather under three inches in length; and the shaft, if not broken off, may have been driven into a wooden haft. Mr. Cuming suggests (but with some hesitation) that these hooked implements may be examples of the *clavis trochi*, where-with the Roman boys trundled their hoops of bronze and iron, in the way still practised in the streets of London by the children of our generation.

The latest object in this interesting group of last year's finds is an ovate pendant of yellow metal coated with enamel, the pattern being red flowers on a deep green field. It is a very pretty example of surface-enamel, the invention of which has been assigned to about the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is somewhat difficult to decide how this pendant was employed. Its form and size bring to mind the little receptacles for thimble, scent, etc., which hung to the lady's equipage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; but it is not designed to open; and if not a personal ornament, may have decorated a costly goblet in the manner of the acorns attached to the "Royal Oak Cup" in the possession of the Barber-Surgeons' Company.

Mr. E. Roberts suggested that the hook-shaped implements exhibited by Mr. Baily, and those described by Mr. Cuming, might have been emblematical sickles in the hands of the statues of Ceres; and Mr. Brent thought that they might possibly have been used for raking the embers out of grates.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a curious German lantern, the property of Mr. R. Clark of Farnham. It is four-sided, with a top shaped somewhat like the cupola of a mosque; formed of thin latten with repoussé embellishments, those on the upper part consisting of graceful foliated scrolls, and four medallions with the profile laureated bust of some classic hero or poet. The three sides, with their large oval bulls' eyes, are bordered with chevron-lines with rosettes at the

angles ; and the back (to which the loop-handle is affixed) displays the story of Diana and her nymphs, with cornuted Actæon gazing at them. This device is accompanied by a legend in not over good orthography, which Mr. Mayhew reads as follows : *FAC LATEAS ET TTVVS ERVS*, which evidently refers to the scene just described ; probably the *v* represents a *y*, and the last word should be *erys* for *eris* ("take care to conceal thyself, and thou shalt be safe"). This lantern is of Nuremberg manufacture, of the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a four-sided lantern also of the seventeenth century, and of Nuremberg fabric, which has three flat panes of glass, and the latter framework decorated with rosettes, etc., in repoussé. This lantern is so contrived that the jointed handle can be shut down flat on the back, and by raising three drop-hooks the whole can be unfolded and packed close together, so that it may be carried conveniently in the pocket. The manufacturer's mark, a trefoil, is stamped on the handle.

Dr. Kendrick sent, for the purpose of inquiry, an engraving entitled "Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland. W. Hogarth, pinx. F. Bartolozzi, R.A., Sculp." The latter arrived in England in 1764, the year in which the painter died. Dr. Kendrick states that he has found no mention of this portrait in any work he has consulted, and would be glad to learn something of its history. Although the costume might pass for that of the queen, the face is so unlike the received pictures of Mary that it is suggested that if it really be a copy of a Hogarth, the artist must have drawn the lineaments of one of his own sitters, and clothed them in the Stuart cap, etc. Bartolozzi engraved a full-length portrait of Mary with her son James, from a picture by Zuccherino in the possession of the Drapers' Company, and must have noticed the vast difference there is between the two faces.

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited a Roman shoe from Liverpool Street ; a strigil, spindle-whorl, buckle, and hair-pin, from Broad Street ; and a dagger and spear-head from Queenhithe. Also the centre of a pricket-candlestick, a pryck-spur *temp. Henry III*, some Roman and British coins from South Wales, cut bone implements similar to those exhibited by Mr. Roberts in December, 1872 (see vol. xxviii, p. 398), from Bucklersbury ; bone pin and several fragments of window-glass, some of it "welted," *i. e.*, turned in at the edges, from the Roman villa at Teston.

After various remarks by the Chairman and Messrs. Grover and Roberts upon the use of glass by the Romans for the purpose of window glazing, the last named gentleman exhibited the following objects : two specimens of gilded pottery, globose, imperfect, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, with one handle, of very bright red, soft clay, Roman ; a Roman crucible, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high ; a

Roman patera, $5\frac{5}{16}$ inches diameter; an earthen water-pot, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, of soft pottery, fourteenth century; an earthen water-pot, *temp. Elizabeth*; a two-handled drinking-cup, *temp. Elizabeth*; a cup, dark glazed, end of sixteenth century, 3 inches diameter, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, brown, glazed; two medicine-jars, seventeenth century.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following paper.

“ON CHRISTMAS SCHOOL-PIECES.

“In days gone by every returning Christmas brought with it a goodly display of Christmas carols, boys' school-pieces, bellmen and lamplighters' verses, and the parish clerks' bills of mortality. The march of refinement and other causes have banished all these annual broadsides save the carol, which is still hawked about our streets with its rude and antique woodcut illustrations, both plain and coloured. Little of the origin and antiquity of these quaint affairs is really known, and it seems as if the bare title of 'Christmas Piece' has never yet found a place in a dictionary of the English language; and those diligent chroniclers of olden usages, Brand, Fosbroke, and Hone, are silent respecting it.

“According to oral tradition the Christmas-piece was called a 'Scripsit' by the *quasi* learned pedagogue and his echoing pupils; but we have no direct evidence to show when it came into vogue, though we may surmise that it made its *début* almost as soon as writing was pronounced a necessary accomplishment, and may fairly expect that a scholastic broadside of the seventeenth century will some day be turning up.

“Most probably the earliest 'Scripsits' were executed on blank sheets of paper, the decorations, if any, being wrought by the ingenious scholar, as is the case with the example I produce, which takes the form of a poem of thirty-six lines divided into six verses, and super-scribed 'On Christmas Day. By John Oakman.' Above this title is an oval water-colour drawing representing the Holy Lamb gazing at the cross, the picture being surrounded by pink, green, and yellow rays. This MS. is said to have emanated from an academy at Camberwell about 1790, but I believe it to be some forty years earlier than the date assigned to it; and it may be taken as a reminiscence of the Christmas-pieces of a previous age.

“We have tangible proof that so far back as the reign of George II Christmas-pieces were in fashion, with copper-plate engraved borders; and curious it is to note the variety of subjects which were adopted as embellishments, some of them showing the spirit of the age in which they were executed. The earliest dated specimen of this kind of piece I possess was 'published according to Act of Parliam't, Sept. 18, 1756,' and 'sold by Jos. Hawkins, Printer, in Shear Lane, nigh Temple Bar,

London.¹ It is a large sheet full 18½ inches by 15 inches, displaying on the upper part an allegorical design, in which appears King George II and his queen, Caroline of Anspach; and near them is seated, on some bales of goods, a merchant holding a money-bag in his left hand, and pointing with his right to Britannia, who seems to kneel in supplication before a lion with bandaged eyes, across whose back strides a fox with a hammer in its left pad; and over these beasts protrudes from the clouds a hand grasping an anchor. Above this picture (which is somewhat in the style of the 'Hieroglyphic' in *Moore's Almanack*) are the words 'Present Times'; and beneath, 'Britannia implores the protection of Heaven. Those who humble themselves before the Lord, he will exalt; and our enemys shall be destroy'd by the thunder and lightning of his wrath.' There are four cartouches down each side of the sheet, containing figures, and accompanied by a religious or moral maxim. Those on the dexter side are as follow:

"FAITH.—Let thy faith be pure, and thy prayers will be a sweet smelling sacrifice before the Lord.—CHARITY. Never faileth tho' she suffer long, but will find mercy at the throne of Grace.—SINCERITY. As the dove be sincere, for sincerity of heart God loveth.—CELERITY. Secret as the invisible hand, swift as the dolphin, and vigilant as the hawke to destroy our enemys.'

"On the sinister side we have: 'HOPE. Have hope in the Lord, and he will not forsake thee when in the greatest danger.—CONSTANCY and FORTITUDE. Be constant in the Lord, and in all adversities he will be your pillar of support.—ECONOMY. Steer your actions with the rudder of oeconomy, that you may escape the rod allotted for the back of fools.—SECURITY. Britons, now to yourselves prove true, And Gallia soon for peace will sue.'

"At bottom are the Tables of the Law, supported by angels; and beneath is this declaration, 'Whosoever keepeth the commandments of God shall have peace in this world, and joy in Heaven.'

"At one corner is the name of the engraver, 'J. June, Scu.' June was mostly employed on book-plates, and never rose to any eminence, although he is mentioned in Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*.

"The second engraved piece I exhibit is undated, but cannot differ much in age from the last, the designs on it reflecting the spirit of Francis Hayman. They are entitled 'Rural Employment,' the several scenes delineated being sheep shearing, milking, ploughing, threshing, churning, reaping, and winnowing. At bottom of the sheet is 'Harvest Home,' on each side of which is a square compartment formed of

¹ In the early part of the seventeenth century, Sheer, Shear, or Shire Lane was known as "Rogue Lane." In 1845 it received the title of "Lower Serle's Place."

garlands of flowers and inkstands and pens, in which the name of the scholar and date of execution of his *chef d'œuvre* were to be entered. The name of the engraver of this clever work is not given; but we read that it was 'publish'd according to Act of Parliament, by J. Kendray, in White's Alley, Chancery Lane. Of whom may be had great variety of schoolboys' peices' (*sic*).

"About the commencement of the reign of George III, John Farrell, No. 7, Paternoster Row, Cheapside, London, was a great publisher of 'Christmas Pieces'; and besides an undated one, I produce others issued in the years 1771, 1784, and 1785. The undated example displays 'summer views' very creditably executed by 'Terry & Co., Sculp., No. 62, Pater Noster Row.' There is much of the old drawing-book manner about these little square pictures, which look as if suspended one beneath the other, in graceful fashion, by ribbons. At bottom is a space for the scholar's signature, etc., formed with a festoon of flowers upheld by Amorini, each of whom has a long pen in his hand.

"The Piece published October 29, 1771, is a history of England, the top subject being a fleet, the largest vessel mounting the Union Jack. The scenes down the sides of the sheet are headed as follow: 'Henry the 5th names the Battle of Agincourt,' 'The insolent Behaviour of Dunstan to K. Edwy on the Day of his Coronation,' 'Eliz. Woodvil at the Feet of Edward y^o IIII,' 'The Seizing of Guy Fawks,' 'Charles 1st taking Leive of his Children,' and 'The first Translation of the Bible presented to Hen. VIII.' This is the only engraved Piece I possess which has been filled up by the young scribe, who has copied on it eight and a half lines from Pope's *Messiah*, commencing with

'Hark ! a glad voice the lonely desert cheers';

and signing himself at bottom, 'William Baldey, his Piese written at Christmas.' If Master Baldey's ordinary handwriting was no better than this his *chef d'œuvre*, we fear he never obtained a prize for good penmanship whilst at school.

"The Piece 'printed and publish'd as the Act directs, Oct. 1784,' differs altogether in design from the foregoing, and reminds us in some measure of Otho Venus' *Emblems*. It is very neatly engraved, but by whom is not stated, and is headed 'Emblems for the Improvement of Youth.' On the dexter side is the nude figure of a child blindfolded, and riding on an ass, and designated 'Ignorance'; and on the sinister side a figure seated at a desk, writing in a book, and holding up a *flagellum* in the left hand, entitled 'Correction.' The borders consist of figures in shields, those on the dexter side being 'Laziness,' 'Grammar,' and 'Virtue'; those on the sinister are 'Education,' 'Diligence,' and 'Vigilance'; and beneath are effigies of 'Religion' and 'Merit', with an oval space between them for the scholar's name, composed of graceful flourishes.

"The last of John Farrell's Pieces I have for exhibition was published April 5th, 1785. The embellishments, 'design'd and engrav'd by G. Terry, Pater Noster Row,' are symbolic of the 'Principle Arts,' viz., geometry, architecture, engraving, sculpture, and painting. This 'Scripsit' is of special interest, as showing the forms of the artistic implements then in use.

"These rough notes have been penned, and this display of Christmas broadsides made, in consequence of Dr. Kendrick having kindly sent for exhibition a school-piece which he considers, and rightly so, as an object of both rarity and interest. It was engraved during the first throes of the French revolution, and has along its upper part a representation of 'the Bastile at Paris, demolished by the people in the cause of Liberty. July, 1789.' Each of the side-borders has two subjects, those on the dexter being 'A Skeleton of a Man found in an Iron Cage upon Storming the Bastile,' and 'Releasing a poor Prisoner from the Bastile.' Those on the sinister are, 'The Governor of the Bastile beheaded by the Mob,' and 'An unfortunate Prisoner at a Gate in the Bastile.' And at bottom is an oval wreath flanked with flags and muskets, and which contains the scholar's name, 'Joseph Eckersley, *Scripsit*, Dec. 17, 1789.' This grim and curious Piece was 'published 9th November, 1789, by Robt. Sayer, 53, Fleet Street, London.' In point of conception and execution it is much inferior to the earlier examples we have been inspecting; but this inferiority in art is fully compensated for by the value it possesses as a popular and contemporary pictorial record of the storming and destruction of the famous old Bastile.

"Many of the last century Pieces were of a strictly religious character, the embellishments consisting entirely of events in the Old and New Testaments; the expulsion of our first parents from Eden, and the feeding of the multitude by Our Lord, being two of the subjects I have seen heading these broadsides.

"There was a certain degree of thought, feeling, and refinement, about most of the older Pieces, which we altogether miss in those of more recent date, the prime attractions of which are the gaudy hues with which the pictures were adorned. Art, morality, and religion, were well nigh banished from them; history, fiction, and sport, furnishing the main themes for illustration.

"One of the noted London publishers of Christmas Pieces, in the early part of the present century, was E. Langley, 173, High Street, Borough. His wares were overflowing with brilliant greens, crimsons, and yellows, the golden armour of St. George contrasting most effectively with the dragon *vert* and the snowy vest of the rosy-cheeked princess. Cinderella seated in her pumpkin-chariot drawn by mice, made her appearance on these Pieces, as did also King John in the act

of signing *Magna Charta*, and Sir William de Walworth giving the rebel Tyler a thundering whack on the head ; and I have it on good authority, that as late as forty years since, such highly tinted broadsides as these were carried from house to house by the 'Muffin-Caps' and other schoolboys, on Boxing Day, in the hope of receiving a reward for their proficiency in penmanship.

"Thongh the whole of the schoolboy Pieces produced were published during the last century, and are consequently far from antiques, their exhibition here may be justified on the ground that they illustrate the later phases of an old, if not obsolete custom, the origin of which, if somewhat obscure, is yet evidently more or less intimately connected with the development of national education and the observances which marked the once merry time of Christmas."

JANUARY 22.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following member was announced : Stephen Isaacson Tucker, Esq., Rouge Croix, College of Arms.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Society. To the Council of the East India Association for Journal, vol. vi, No. 3. Small 8vo. London, 1872.

To the Society of Antiquaries, for Proceedings, vol. v, No. 4, Second Series. 8vo. London, 1872.

To the Author, Le Capitaine Bazerque, Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur, for "La Caravane Universelle, Voyages Autour du Monde." Small 8vo. Paris.

Mr. F. K. Glover exhibited a small circular box of copper with dome-top, containing coins of Edward I, Charles I, some farthing tokens found at Colchester (a similar example, containing a shilling of Charles I, is described in the *Journal*, vol. xxiv, p. 66), and a finger-ring of the fifteenth century from Lombard Street.

Mr. H. W. Henfrey exhibited a wooden Dutch jewel-box of the early part of the seventeenth century, decorated with pen and ink drawings.

Mr. Cuming remarked that the manufacture of articles similar to that exhibited by Mr. Henfrey was only continued for a period of about ten or fifteen years, and probably none of them were of a later date than about A.D. 1615.

Mr. J. W. Baily, in continuing the exhibition of ancient remains lately exhumed in London, now sent a group, of which the following are the more important items :

The earliest, belonging to the stone period, is one of those myste-

rious, perforated implements variously designated net-sinks, balance-weights, club-heads, and amulets; but which are, in all probability, flint stones that have been attached to staves by strong thongs or ropes, and employed in war, like the "morning stars" of the middle ages. The present specimen appears to be wrought of *grauwacke*, is convex on either face, and more ovate than round in outline, measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. It is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick in the middle, and thins off from the central foramen to the edges, which, though blunt, would inflict a fearful wound were the weapon wielded by a powerful hand.

A perforated convex disc of dolerite, about 4 inches in diameter, found in Anglesey, and doubtless intended for the same purpose as the one under consideration, was exhibited by the late Lord Boston at our meeting held on April 25, 1866, and is described in this *Journal* (xxii, p. 314), while mention of analogous objects will be seen in vols. xiv, p. 327, and xx, p. 102.

Passing from prehistoric to historic times, the next earliest relic in this group is a conical *fistula*, or conduit-pipe, of red terra-cotta, measuring $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, nearly 3 inches in diameter at the broad end, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ at the smaller extremity. Earthen water-pipes of cylindric form have been met with on several Roman sites in London, but examples of the shape now submitted are of extreme rarity. Those of ordinary make vary from 17 to 25 inches in length, and from 2 to 5 inches in diameter, and are contrived to fit one into the other, in the manner of modern drain-pipes. Several terra-cotta *fistulae*, for conveying water to the *balneum*, were found in the Roman building brought to light at Billingsgate, January, 1848. One of these pipes (in the Cuming collection) measures rather over 2 inches in diameter, and $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length; and may have been a trifle longer, as one end seems to have been fractured.

Among mediæval objects, special notice may be taken of two exceedingly fine specimens of early *fistilia*.

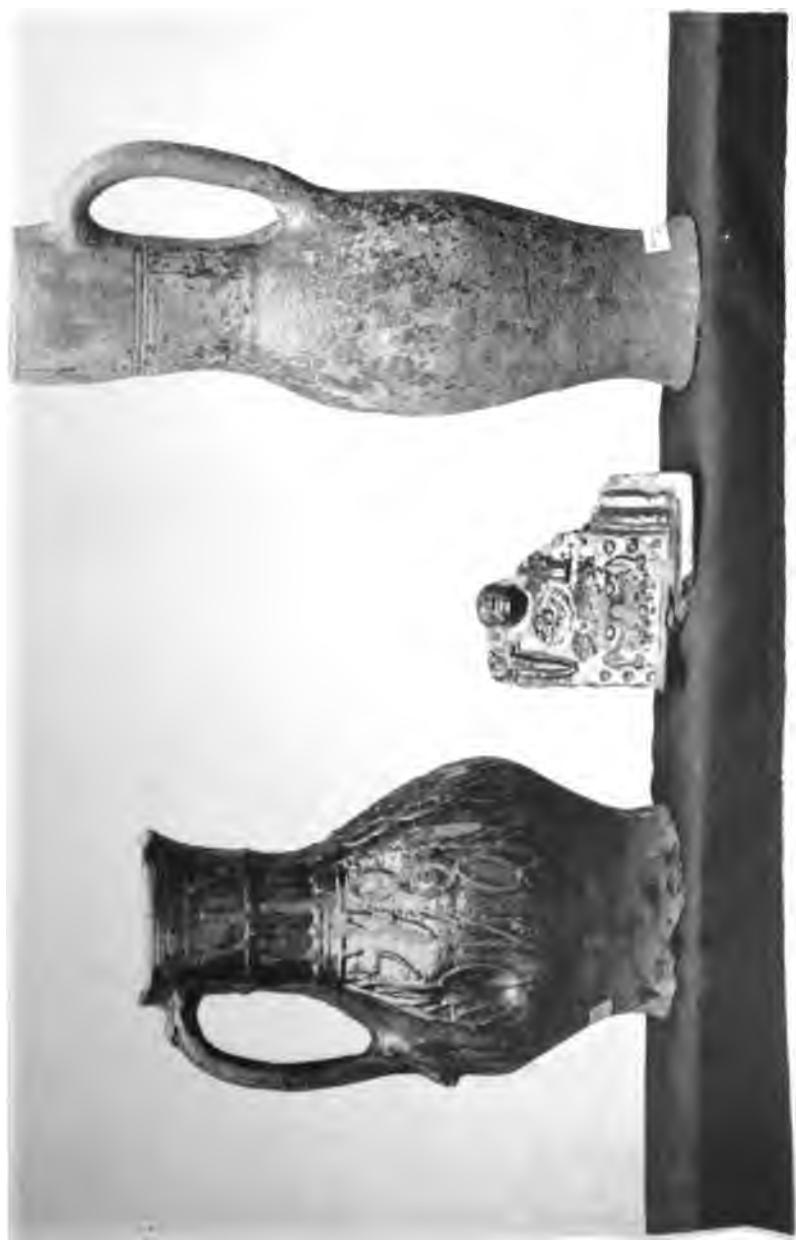
One is a Norman jug of the eleventh century, close on 17 inches in height. (Plate 2.) The neck is nearly cylindrical, and encircled by four rings; the body swelling from the shoulder towards the lower part, where it contracts, and spreads out again slightly to form the base. The loop-handle reaches from near the mouth to the shoulder of the vessel. The potter has evidently taken much pains in the formation of this lofty jug, which is in a high state of preservation. Examples of this type of Norman jug, but of inferior fabric, have been found in various parts of the City. One, met with in Cannon Street in 1853, measuring $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, is in the Jermyn Street Museum; another, $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, is in the British Museum; and other specimens, of different sizes, are preserved in the Guildhall, Baily, Mayhew, and Cuming col-

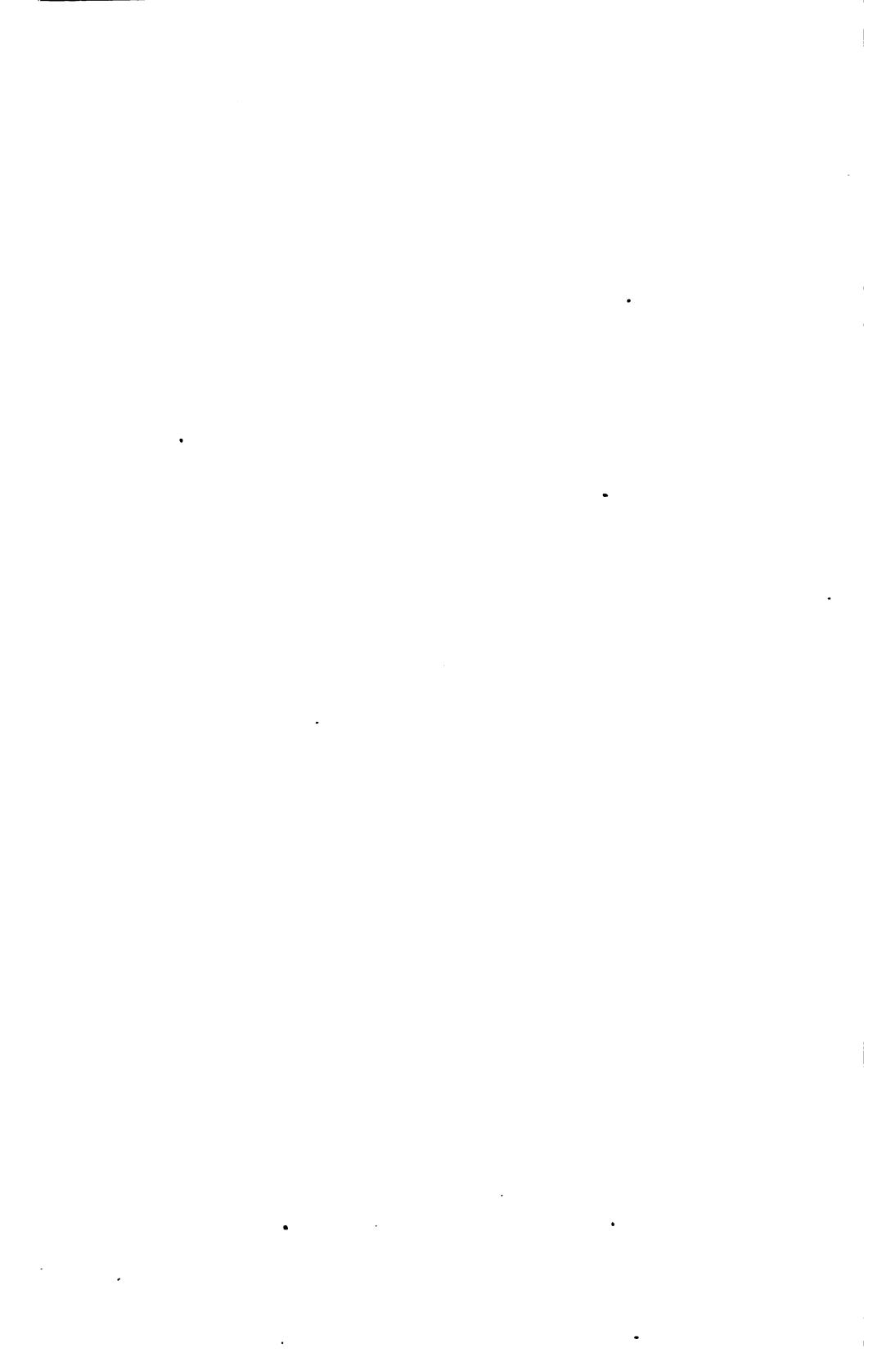
lections. This fashion of jug seems to have been made in such regular stages, from 6 to 17 inches in height, that it is fair to presume they were intended to hold given quantities of fluid; but they are seldom found sufficiently perfect to permit this supposition to be verified.

The second mediæval vessel is a fine loop-handled pitcher of the thirteenth century, covered with a mottled green glaze, and measuring 13½ inches high. (Plate 2.) The swelling body is adorned with alternate perpendicular bands of guilloche and chain-patterns, similar to what occur on the remains of a like pitcher exhumed at Dowgate Hill, 1864, and now in the Cuming collection. Though green glazed, iconic vessels were used in England as far back as the twelfth century, those of ordinary *contour* show few attempts at decoration until the sixteenth century. Exceptions are, however, seen, as in the present instance; and in the Cuming collection is a jug of the twelfth century, found in Moorfields, 1866, which is ornamented from rim to base with perpendicular lines of chainwork. A scale-pattern is also sometimes met with on vessels of the Plantagenet era.

The next piece of earthenware to describe is one of much novelty so far as its embellishments are concerned. It is an embossed tile of red paste, covered on the face with yellow glaze, and made probably *circa* 1500. (Pl. 2.) Occupying a central position, towards the top of the field, is a good sized face with the head seemingly covered with a close fitting cap. Beneath this is a Tudor rose; and on the dexter side a sword which for fashion might be assigned to the twelfth century; and on the sinister a mitred ecclesiastic with a staff in his right, and a book in his left hand. Lying horizontally beneath this group is what looks like a staff or billet, with thistle (?) leaves in the middle and towards the ends; and still lower down are three fleurs-de-lis, the stem of the centre one being flanked with crosses fitchée. Pellets are placed between the points of the lilies, and beyond them, at either end. The field on which these several devices are disposed, is surrounded by a deep border like the frame of a picture. Mr. Baily has a portion of another tile from the same mould, which is covered with green glaze.

An important question to decide is, what do all the forms and figures on these rare tiles imply? The effigy of the prelate and the crosses at the lower part of the tiles are suggestive of a religious motive. Can the head be meant to represent the *caput aureum* of St. Thomas which Erasmus beheld at Canterbury? Can the sword be that of Richard Brito, with which a portion of the Archbishop's skull was struck off? And again, can the ecclesiastic with book and staff be intended for Becket? But even if these hints point truthward, there still remain other forms to be accounted for. The rose is not only a Tudor badge, but an emblem of the Virgin; and it was at the Altar of the Virgin that the turbulent cleric "breathed his last farewell" to Our Lady, and





there was afterwards shown to Erasmus the *punctum ensis*. We must know the exact intent of the foliated object ere any guess can be given as to its signification. The line of fleur-de-lis and crosses may possibly represent the barrier which separated the spectators from the holy relics displayed at Canterbury. But we must await the discovery of other tiles before any valid solution of the signs and symbols can be arrived at; and all that is now said is offered with great diffidence and hesitation, but with the hope of directing inquiry towards the subject.

The last object in our list is one about the purpose of which opinions may possibly be divided. It is wrought of white stone, and in general form may be compared to the fruit of the *nelumbium*. It is 2 inches in height, with a knot at top, from which gradually spreads a faceted body, widening to a flat base nearly 2 inches in diameter, and into which are worked thirty-four depressions. It is conjectured, and with much probability, that this singular article was designed as a pasterer's stamp for ornamenting cakes in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

Mr. E. Roberts exhibited the following objects :

Waterpot of a different pattern from that exhibited by him in June, 1872 (see vol. xxviii, p. 281). It is bottle-shaped, 17½ inches high, 8 inches diameter, with a handle and thumb-vent at the top, and having a rounded and perforated bottom. The broken pieces show another finger-vent; but as it does not fit any of the broken edges, may not belong to this vessel. Fifteenth century.

Two small Samian *tazzi*, apparently for toilette use. No potter's mark on one, and the other illegible.

An earthen candlestand, probably seventeenth century.

Three porringers, one with long projecting handle, and yellow glazed. Seventeenth century. All recently found in London.

Mr. Thomas Morgan read a paper "On Odinism in Scandinavia and Denmark," which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, in reference to Mr. Morgan's paper, said :

"Whilst the Pantheons of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, are represented in abundance in existing monuments, few tangible traces are now recognised of the Odinic mythology,—so determined seemed the early converts to Christianity to overturn the altars and break down the graven images of their pagan ancestors. But it is clear from history that the Teutonic tribes in Britain did for a long time oscillate between the religion of Odin and the faith of the Gospel; and so unfixed seemed the mind of Redwald, King of East Anglia, that he had, as Bede tells us (ii, p. 15), in the same temple an altar to sacrifice to Christ, and another 'to offer victims to devils.' And the same venerable writer records (iii, p. 8) that Earconbert, King of Kent, 'was the first of the English kings that of his supreme authority commanded the idols throughout his whole kingdom to be forsaken and destroyed.'

"Whence Richard Verstegan obtained the authority, if he had any, for his pictures of the seven Saxon deities which presided over the days of the week, has long been a mystery. Our former member, the late Dr. William Bell, believed that these said figures were copied from old designs; but he could never discover the source whence they were obtained. They speak little of ancient Teutonic art, but far more of the semi-classic style which flourished in Germany and the Netherlands about the middle of the sixteenth century.

"In the *Gent. Mag.* for November, 1848 (p. 470), and again in that for August, 1849 (p. 114), mention is made of four rudely carved figures of wood preserved at Hoxne in Suffolk, and reputed to be Danish idols. It would be well if some skilful archaeologist examined these effigies with a view of determining their true nature, and to see that they be carefully preserved. Have we no member in the neighbourhood who would undertake this duty?

"D'Agincourt, in his *History of Art by its Monuments* (ii, Plate 29), gives a representation of a somewhat mutilated wooden image of very ancient date, kept in the chapel of the Cathedral of Upsala in Sweden, which is affirmed to be Thor, the god of thunder, after whom our Thursday receives its name. This nude statue has long hair and round beard, and there is more of melancholy than fierceness expressed in the visage, which is more indicative, perhaps, of Tuisco or Seater than it is of the son of Odin."

Mr. Cuming closed his observations by the exhibition of a very rudely fashioned head wrought out of a mass of deep grey clay-slate, weighing one pound thirteen ounces, discovered many years since in the Shetland Isles, and pronounced to be a Scandinavian idol. It seems to be intended for an eagle with its crest raised, and with prominent round eyes, reminding us strongly of some of the effigies of the Hindu god, Garuda. The aquiline form seems to have been assumed by several of the Scandinavian deities. The giant Thjassi, and Freyja, the goddess of love, both donned the eagle's plumage on occasions, as did also the terrible Odin. There is a story in the *Edda* in which it is related how that Odin, in the form of a worm, entered the cave wherein Suttung's mead was preserved, and in his human shape gained the affections of Suttung's daughter Gunnlaugh; and, after drinking up to the last drop the mead contained in three jars, emerged once again from the rocky retreat, and transforming himself into an eagle, carried up to Asgard the song-inspiring beverage. This daring act and mighty achievement might well justify the sculptor in representing Odin as an eagle; but whilst far from insisting that the rude carving in question must be intended for Odin, it may still be a Scandinavian deity, the Odinic religion having flourished in the Shetland Islands even as late as the end of the tenth century.

Mr. Cuming then read the following paper

“ON BACK-PAINTING.

“There are many trifling productions which, if they fall not strictly under the head of archaeology, are closely allied to it, and therefore cannot fail of possessing a certain measure of interest to the antiquarian, as they are in the main ectypes and shadows of things which have gone before them, their superiors in both originality and art. This is eminently the case with what is now called ‘Potichomanie’ and ‘Diaphanerie,’ both of which had their origin in a process denominated ‘Back-Painting,’ which was itself an effort to imitate, in a cheap and easy mode, the enamelled and pictured glass of ancient days.

“The Byzantine artists formed medallions of two discs of glass, the inner surface of one of the plates being enamelled or painted with heads, figures, etc., gold-leaf being freely and effectively employed. There are several specimens of this peculiar style of art in the British Museum; but the most noted example is the one which was found at Tivoli, and passing successively into the collections of Ficoroni, Middleton, and Walpole, formed lot 50 in the fourteenth day’s sale of the Strawberry Hill treasures in 1842. In this instance the transparent disc displays the full-faced busts of a mother and son, the field being of a deep blue colour.¹

“Did the idea of these glass-pictures originate with the Byzantine artists, or was it borrowed from some other and more ancient limners? is a question of no small interest, but one which cannot be readily replied to. Gilding was lavishly introduced on the glass-pictures of the Hindus, some of which are of considerable though undefined age. But these pictures are simply painted with various bright colours on the inner surface of the pane, and not included between two vitreous layers. I exhibit an old though not an ancient example of Hindu painting, drawn in black outline, and filled in with five different colours, rich with gold, and which seems to have in it a smack of both Egyptian and Byzantine feeling. It represents a lady of high rank with jewelled hair-ornaments, nose and ear rings, and broad bracelets, her long veil and much of her dress seemingly composed of a fabric woven with alternate stripes of gold and crimson.

“The Indian artists have not only exercised their skill on plates of glass, but also on thin plates of mica, which substance was very probably used by them before they adopted glass as a medium to paint

¹ This miniature is engraved in Dr. Conyers Middleton’s *Germana quædam Antiquitatis eruditæ Monumenta*, tab. iii, 2. On April 26, 1865, the late Lord Boston exhibited to us a beautiful glass disc including a stag pursued by a spotted dog, in gold leaf on a ruby field. It is of the same fabric as the Byzantine medallions, but of German manufacture of the seventeenth century. See *Journal*, xxi, p. 237.

on. I have no early example of a mica picture to produce, but one executed, I believe, in the present century, and obtained some years since in Calcutta. It is of a Hindu woman squatting by the side of a machine, and engaged in the manufacture of cotton, a basket of which is placed within her reach. The red of her hooded mantle contrasts well with the deep blue of her skirt, and a considerable amount of talent is manifested in the limning of the gipsy-like countenance. This painting is in body-colour, and therefore not nearly so durable as the earlier Hindu work, and is on the front, not the back of the pane.

“The Chinese have, perhaps, exceeded all other nations in the size of their pictures on glass, some of which are executed in a very pleasing manner; and many of their smaller portraits on this material are so exquisitely finished, that they would not suffer in character by being viewed by the side of a *Petitot* or an *Oliver*.

“It was in all likelihood the importation of these eastern pictures into Europe in the seventeenth century, and the value set upon them, which induced some cunning craftsman to attempt an imitation by some easier and quicker mode than the employment of brush and pencil in their shades and outlines. That there was a desire to possess glass-pictures of some description, is decisively proved by the fact that *Mrs. Hannah Woolley*, in the Supplement to her *Queen-like Closet* (London, 1684), p. 53, gives the following directions how ‘to dress up glass-plates on which you may lay dry sweetmeats or biscuits. Take your glass-plates and lay the right sides downward upon a table; then have in readiness some coloured prints finely cut, and lay them on with gum, with their right sides to the wrong side of the plates. Then take some Spanish whiting mixt with size which is purely clear; let it be as batter for a pudding. Order it so that there may be no knots in it, but that it may be very smooth. Then spread the same all over upon the prints (not too thick); and when they are very dry, wipe the right side clean, and set them up in your closet to use at your pleasure.’ Here then, in 1684, we have a receipt for making potichomanie some hundred and seventy years before this outlandish name was coined; and it is from about this period that we may date the introduction of back-painting, an account of which is the immediate motive of this paper, as an accompaniment to an exhibition made by Dr. Kendrick.

“How back-painting was effected is told us in the *Handmaid to the Arts* (London, 1794), i, p. 379: ‘Of the taking off mezzotinto prints on glass, and painting upon them with oil, water, or varnish colours. The painting on glass by means of mezzotinto prints is performed by transferring the ink of the print to the surface of a glass; and thus having obtained a drawing, colour it by proper pigments tempered with oil, varnish, or oil of a vehicle. This transferring the ink from the print to the glass is effected by cementing the face of the prints to

the surface of the glass by means of some glutinous body which will not dissolve in water, and then destroying the texture of the paper by water, so that it may be rubbed entirely off from the cement upon the glass, leaving at the same time the whole of the ink of the print upon the cement and the glass in the same manner as if the original impression had been made there. The particular method of performing this is as follows: Procure a piece of the best crown-glass, as near as possible in size to the print to be taken off, and varnish it thinly over with turpentine rendered a little more fluid by the addition of oil of turpentine. Lay the print then on the glass, beginning at one end, and pressing it gently down in every part in proceeding to the other. This is requisite to prevent any vesicles of air from being formed in the laying it on, by the paper touching the cement unequally in different parts; and to settle the whole more closely to the glass, it is well to pass over it a wooden roller of about the diameter of about two inches. Dry then the glass, with the print thus laid upon it at the first, till the turpentine be perfectly hard, and afterwards moisten the paper well with water till it be thoroughly soaked. After this rub off the paper entirely from the cement by gently rolling it under the finger, and let it dry without any heat; the impression of the print will be found perfect on the glass, and may be painted over with either oil or varnish-colours.'

" Still further details respecting this art may be read in a *Polygraphic Dictionary*, published *circa* 1735. From it we glean, *sub voce* ' Mezzo-tinto,' that ' mezzo-tinto prints are, for back-painting upon glass, to be preferred to those that are engraved; because that the former, if done with a neat and careful hand, and on a good and fine-grounded print, can scarcely be distinguished from limning; whereas in those that are engraved, all the strokes of the graver are plainly visible. The glass you paint it on ought not to be common window-glass, for that will spoil your work; but either true and thin-ground and well polished looking-glass, or a sort of fine white glass called *Cockhill-glass*.' And in the same dictionary, under the head of ' Another Way to Paint on Glass,' we are told, after various directions, ' Your pieces being thus done in oyl or water-colours may receive a very additional and improving beauty by overlaying all the colours, except the ground, with leaf-silver, which will appear very glorious and lively on such as are transparent, to wit, lakes, verditers.' How suggestive is this hint of the translucent enamels of the fourteenth century.

" Having now become acquainted with the *modus operandi* of back-painting, we will turn to a few examples of the art, and first to the one submitted by Dr. Kendrick. This very singular picture represents those brave champions of the Anglican Church, the seven Bishops who were committed to the Tower in 1688. The portraits of these noble prelates are arranged in three rows, in oval compartments, each sub-

scribed with a name, as follows: 'Francis L^d B^{pp} of Ely,—Will^m L^d B^{pp} of St. As^p,—Tho. L^d B^{pp} of Bath and Wells,—William L^d Arch B^{pp} of Canterbury, his Grace,—John L^d B^{pp} of Chichester,—Jonathan L^d B^{pp} of Bristol,—Thomas L^d B^{pp} of Peterborow.' Above each miniature is a mitre, in which a lighted candle is placed; and at the top of the picture is a disc with the eye of Providence, surrounded by seven stars; and issuing from it are seven claviformed golden rays, a lingering reminiscence of the gold leaf of the Byzantine and eastern glass-pictures.

"The name of the artist is always cut off from the plate before it is transferred to the glass, so that we are deprived in this way of an important record and guide to the date of the piece of work. In the present instance I venture to surmise that the mezzo-tinto is by R. Robinson, whose name is attached to a few portraits: among others, those of Charles I, after Vandyck; Charles II and his brother James; and Sir James Worsley.

"A similar back-painting to that we are considering was formerly in the possession of an old lady at Dudley, and was regarded as so curious an object that persons were wont to go specially to inspect it; and in spite of liberal offers for its purchase, so highly was it valued by its owner, that nothing would induce her to part with the time-honoured treasure.

"I will next call attention to what was once a very superior example of back-painting, but which is unfortunately sadly spoiled by a slanting fracture across it. This is a nearly full-faced bust of King James II in rich robes, flowing wig, and elegant lace cravat, and with the George depending round his neck. This fine oval mezzo-tinto is somewhat in the style of John Simon, who was employed by Sir Godfrey Kneller to engrave some of his pictures after he had fallen out with John Smith.

"The last example of back-painting I have to lay before you is an exceedingly pretty one, representing three Amorini; one being engaged in bandaging the eyes of his companion, whilst the remaining urchin bears away on his head a large ewer. A stone monument with an urn on top, and deep green bosage, serve well as a set-off to the nude little Loves, who seem to be thoroughly enjoying themselves. I have heard that there was formerly a companion frame to this one, filled with a back-painting of an elegantly fashioned vase; but it was smashed years since, and I simply refer to it as a proof that other subjects besides heads and figures were employed in this curious art.

"Back-paintings of the seventeenth century are of extreme rarity, most of those which have survived the vicissitudes of time being of the first half of the eighteenth century; but these are becoming scarcer and scarcer every day. Occasionally an example, more or less perfect,

is brought to me in the hope that I may throw some light on what has been a puzzle to all to whom it had been previously submitted; and the accounts attached to these glass enigmas are at times of a highly imaginative character, the age assigned to them varying from three hundred to six hundred years; when, perhaps, the great antique is a transfer of a mezzo-tinto by Valentine Green.

"Now that the true nature of back-paintings has been set forth, we may hope that the mystery which has so long enveloped them will be dispelled; and should this prove to be the case, Dr. Kendrick is deserving of our best thanks for the production of his seven Bishops, and thus recalling to recollection the history of an all but forgotten art, the very title of which is as little comprehended by the million as that of 'Marmotinto,' 'Xulopyrography,' or 'Polyplasiasmos.'"

FEBRUARY 12, 1873.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following member was announced: Henry Prigg, Esq., junior, Bury St. Edmunds.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:

To the Society, the Canadian Institute, for Journal, vol. xiii, No. 5, New Series. 8vo. Toronto, 1872.

" " The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, for Journal, vol. ii, Fourth Series, No. 12. 8vo. Dublin, 1872.

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited some iron spurs, knives, keys, and a vent-peg, from Queenhithe and Victoria Street, found in 1872 and 1873 (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), with some fragments of Samian-ware; also a bronze bracelet or armlet of a very peculiar type; and a bone implement, probably a spear-head.

The Chairman said he had seen a bracelet somewhat resembling that now exhibited, which had been exhumed from a Saxon barrow; and Mr. Brent remarked that similar examples had been found in the Steel-yard and Long Alley.

Mr. Charles Edward Davies, F.S.A., sent for exhibition a portrait of Charles I in needlework; in reference to which the Chairman said that there was a legend that it had been worked by the eldest daughter of His Majesty, and he saw no reason why this might not have been the case.

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., exhibited the following objects from Victoria Street: two tweezers, Roman; a small mediæval glass bottle; part of a bronze ornament; two fragments, apparently parts of some articles

of domestic use,—one of iron, the other of lead. Also a small wooden figure representing the Virgin and Child, from the Thames; and a lacrymatory from Pompeii.

Mr. J. W. Baily forwarded a display of recent London finds, which, for convenience, may be separated into two groups,—the one appertaining to equestrianism, the other to domestic service. Of objects falling under the first named group, particular mention may be made of the following :

A Roman *oreæ*, or snaffle-bit, of iron, jointed in the middle, and having strong rings at the extremities of the bars for the attachment of the bridle or *lorum*.

Pair of what seem to be the bronze chapes or branches of a bit of rather elegant design, the loops for the bridle being somewhat rhombic in form with a boss at the angles; the lower ends of the bars being bifurcated, with the points diverging. It is the general opinion that long-branched bits do not date earlier than the middle ages; but the specimens submitted have all the aspect of Roman fabric.

The two next objects are of iron, were found in contact, and were doubtless used together. The one is a stirrup with moderately broad foot-rest and slender, upright sides; the other a chain composed of figure-of-eight shaped links, with a loop-ended bar at one extremity and a large ring at the other. It is just to regard this *catena* as the suspender of the stirrup. Stirrups seem to have been unknown during the higher classic ages, and the one now produced must be placed among the earliest examples of Roman *sculae* which have come to light.

Passing from the bits and stirrup, we have next to notice a remarkably fine pryck-spur of the eleventh century, of iron plated with silver. The four-sided, pyramidal point issues from a short, stout neck. The straight shanks are convex without, flat within; one terminating in two little perforated discs, to which the sole and instep-straps were riveted; the other having a square loop at the side, through which the said straps passed. The straight shanks of this specimen are indicative of its date, the curved shanks being of later fashion. There is in the Cuming collection a fine pryck-spur of iron, exhumed in the Steel-yard in 1865, the gracefully curved shank of which (one is broken off) is inlaid with silver in a lozenge pattern; and the quadrangular pyramidal goad, with its square base and cylindric neck, measuring $1\frac{1}{8}$ ins. in length.

Amongst the group of objects for domestic service are the following of special interest :

The staple or hold-fast of an *ansa ostii*, or door-handle, consisting of a head of yellow bronze or brass; and an iron spike to drive into the wooden *janua*; the entire length of the article being $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins. The head is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long, constituted of three members, viz., the square

end decorated with a cross composed of a couple of waved lines reaching from angle to angle, the round and contracted neck, and the oblong, four-sided body, perforated for the reception of the *anulus*, which served the double purpose of a closing ring and knocker; which classic contrivance was continued down into mediæval times.

A door-handle of the flamboyant period. It is of iron, and consists of a richly wrought perforated cylinder, $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, with a stout central pin running from top to bottom; and with a strong staple at right angles, at either end, to fix in the woodwork. This rare and elegant piece of furniture must have belonged to some princely mansion or first class ecclesiastical edifice.

A very pretty little pricket-candlestick of iron, with a volute on either side the cusp, and a short base-point for insertion in a wooden stand. Date, sixteenth century.

An iron candlestick with funnel-shaped nozzle set at right angles to a spike for driving into a wall or post. This is certainly not later than the sixteenth century. These specimens are interesting additions to the iron candlesticks figured and described in this *Journal*, xxv, p. 54.

Saucer of a pensile lamp of mixed metal, $4\frac{5}{8}$ ins. in diameter. The lamp (now lost) was riveted in the centre of the circle, and around it are four broad, flat-topped loops to receive the suspenders. The under surface of the saucer is embossed with a wreath, etc., showing that the lamp was intended to be hung above the heads of persons, so that its decorations could be viewed from below. Date, sixteenth century.

To the foregoing objects Mr. Baily added two portions of a Roman implement found near the double row of piles in Queen Victoria Street in 1872, one portion being the furcated iron head, the other the iron *spiculum* from the butt of the shaft. It has been suggested that this implement was allied to the *contus*, and employed in navigation. In the Cuming collection is a *spiculum* of iron, 5 ins. in length, very similar to the one exhibited, and which was exhumed near the pile-work in Tokenhouse Yard in 1865.

Dr. Kendrick sent for exhibition a silk reel in a bottle, the latter being 7 ins. high, about 2 ins. in diameter in the drum, and three-quarters of an inch at the neck. The reel consists of an upright with an horizontal cross at top, middle, and base, from each point of which depends a little tassel, and strands of silk are stretched cris-cross fashion from member to member. The woodwork is gaudily painted red and blue, in varnish colours; and the black wooden stopper is of a conic form, with a cross-piece just below the neck to prevent its extraction.

Mr. H. S. Cuming said that the astonishment provoked by the "egg in the bottle" and the "philosopher's tree," in all probability suggested the idea of building up various devices in glass vessels, of which several

of the old, but few of the recent collections could show examples. The silk reel was the most common gimcrack found in the bottle. One is mentioned in the *Catalogue of the Rarities in Don Saltero's Coffee House at Chelsea* (40 ed., p. 7); and another formed a portion of lot 2402 in the sale of the Portland Museum in 1786, and has long been an item in the Cuming collection. This bottle, or rather decanter, is 11½ ins. high, and nearly 4½ ins. in diameter at the base, and tapers up to the mouth, which is 1½ ins. in diameter at its opening. The reel is of a far more complicated character than the one exhibited by Dr. Kendrick, having in addition to the necessary framework of uprights and cross-pieces, no less than five wheels that are made to revolve in different directions by means of a spindle which reaches from the top of the machine through a perforation in the wooden stopper at the mouth. A large horizontal wheel and a small contrate-wheel are of fusible metal; and the silks are of a yellow, green, blue, and pink colour.

"It was seldom that the gimcrack in the bottle was designed to move; but in Don Saltero's *Catalogue* (p. 11) we read of 'the model of a mill with an overshot-wheel, which works with sand (as the large ones do with water), most curiously contrived and made in a bottle. The stopper of the bottle is most wonderfully contrived, in being fastened in the inside of the bottle with cross-bars and spring-bolts, with various things hanging to each end of every bolt, and yet so tight as not to admit of one grain of sand to escape.' Dr. Kendrick states in a note, after speaking of his silk-reel, that the only other example of building in a bottle that he has met with, is a very elaborate one, in which all the persons, instruments, symbols, etc., connected with the history of the Crucifixion are introduced. All these objects have now tumbled down, but the Doctor has some thoughts of trying his hand at a restoration."

Mr. Cuming went on to say that he possessed a specimen of similar character to that spoken of by our valued member, but which has somewhat suffered from an unlucky shake. The bottle is 8½ ins. high, and about 3½ ins. in diameter in the drum, and 2 ins. at the neck. In the centre is the crucifixion of Our Lord, with the reed and sponge on the right; and on the left, St. Longinus with a golden pointed spear, the end of the cross-plinth on which he stands being inscribed with his name, LVNGIE. Behind the martyr is St. Peter's cock on the top of a column, with Judas' lantern on one side, and the ladder and lance on the other. This central group is encircled by three galleries, on each of which is fixed a variety of small objects, such as the moon and sun, flagella, pincers, hammer, dice, goblet, flagon, hand, etc., with figures of angels and others standing between them; the whole being carved in wood, and rich with paint and gilding. The stopper is ingeniously

secured within the neck of the bottle by a cross-bar with crosslets at the ends, and surmounted by a bust with the hair arranged in a singular manner, and wearing a tall cap like the *corno ducale* of Venice. This carving is covered with plaster, and painted with divers hues. Our Vice-President, the Rev. Dr. Simpson, has a crucifix in a bottle, but it is less elaborate than the two here mentioned.

Mr. Cuming said he had another bottle, 8½ ins. high, 6½ ins. in diameter in the drum, and 2½ ins. at the neck; in which is built a fortified harbour, with a very neatly constructed ship in the centre, with tiny figures apparently swimming around it. There are four towers set at equal distances on the wall of the haven, on two of which stand a friar, and on the other two a female; and these four effigies have a sort of frame about them, which rises into a shaft at top, which supports a head covered with a three-cornered hat; the whole fabric being well painted. The flat topped stopper is secured by a broad cross-crosslet. In the view of Mr. Greene's museum at Lichfield, given in the *Gent. Mag.* (Oct., 1788, p. 847), may be observed a device in a bottle, the stopper of which is in the form of a human head; but the precise nature of the conceit is not well defined. None of these gimcracks seem to date earlier than the seventeenth century; and the taste for such things still survives, in a modified and debased form, in the tandems and steam-engines, and little metal images of Napoleon I, which we sometimes meet with in bottles; and in the hollow globes containing scenery, etc., which occasionally form handles to marble paper-weights.

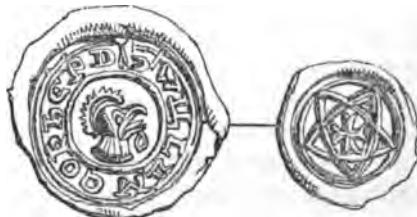
Dr. Kendrick also sent for exhibition fourteen out of a set of hieroglyphic conversation-cards, the questions being lettered C, D, E, F, G, and T, the answers numbered 4, 5, 7, 8, 14, 16, 17, and 19. From the costume of the figures and other details they seem to have been engraved *circa* 1784, and are, perhaps, among the earliest examples of such cards which have been preserved. About the period when these conversation-cards were designed, it was much the fashion to combine forms and letters to make up words; and to such a length was this quaint conceit carried, that T. Hodgson of George's Court, St. John's Lane, Clerkenwell, issued *A Curious Hieroglyphic Bible; or, Select Passages in the Old and New Testaments*; a fourth edition of which, printed in 1786, is in the possession of Mr. H. Syer Cuming. This one shilling book is now a thing of much rarity. The same species of symbolic language is found on some of the lottery-bills of the early part of the present century; and in connexion with conversation-cards it may be mentioned that Swift and Co. published, just before their great drawing of January 21, 18—, a pack designed for single and married gentlemen and ladies; the five questions being printed in red on one card, the answers in black on twenty cards, with a verse at the bottom of each. Few complete sets of these cards are now to be found, but one is in Mr. Cuming's possession.

Dr. Kendrick added to this exhibition forty-five of a pack of French playing-cards of a highly satirical character, engraved apparently in the early part of the present century. The large figures on the court-cards are adorned with various colours, and the pips on the different suits are, as usual, red and black. Each card has one or more persons on it; and the faces, or some portion of the dress, are made subservient to the pips; and a title occurs either above or below each device. It is well to note that the *trois* of diamonds shows several gentlemen with velocipedes, which machines made their *début* in England in April, 1818; and it was not many years before this time that they became fashionable on the Continent. These cards are preserved in their original case, labelled "*Cartes à rire*," and "*Usse, Papetier, Passage des Panorama, No. 7, à Paris.*"

A pack of pictorial cards executed by hand, and signed E. Locker, 1799, is described in this *Journal* (xiii, p. 244); and other varieties of costume-cards are enumerated in vol. ix, p. 121.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited three sheets of pictorial cards. One sheet contained ten cards, engraved on copper in a spirited manner, the designs being full of whimsical fancy. The pips of spades form good caps for the volunteers; hearts, clubs, and diamonds, serving well for the faces of divers ranks of folk. Some of these cards are signed I. L. sc. The other two sheets contain together eight cards engraved a little in the style of Bartolozzi's stipple. They are of very superior design and execution, some of the faces being really beautiful.

Mr. Joseph Warren of Ixworth sent the following for exhibition: a shield-shaped late Roman fibula found at Ixworth, Suffolk; which is not, however, in the form of a Roman, but rather in that of a late mediæval shield, with a boss or sort of umbo in the centre. It has been enamelled on the face in various colours, and is a highly interesting and curious example. Also a sealing-wax impression from a metallic mould made from the original impression of a seal with the legend S. JEHAN DVMONT round a shield bearing per fess three lions rampant; and the seal (fourteenth century) of William Cokhefd, of which a woodcut is annexed.



Mr. E. Roberts exhibited,—a Roman *olla* of Upchurch ware, nearly perfect, 6½ ins. in diameter, and 6 ins. at the mouth, unusually under-

cut at the lip. Original height probably 6½ ins.—A piece of Roman Upchurch ware with modern perforations in the base, exhibited with the view of guarding purchasers against believing in the perforations being original.—A Samian *calathus*, 4½ ins. in diameter at top, 2 ins. diameter at the base, and 3 ins. high; the precursor in form of the modern breakfast-cup.—A Roman *mortarium*, repaired, and probably formed out of two; the restoration having been effected by an unskilful workman, who put the pieces together with Portland cement. It is marked on the margin with two names, one being *ALBILVI*; the other appears to be *LVC*, but is nearly illegible.—A hammer-head forked at one end, sixteenth century.—A part of a very long drinking-cup, 1½ ins. in diameter, and 6 ins. long, of white glass, sixteenth century. All from the bed of the old Walbrook.—A seventeenth century green glass bottle bearing an impression of the head of King Charles I, and the letters *rs* surrounding the head.—Also a piece of lead water-pipe from London. It is 6 inches in diameter, and nearly half an inch thick.

The Chairman remarked that the pipe now exhibited differed in shape from Roman water-pipes which had been discovered in Italy; but although this was the case, there was no reason for doubting that this was a portion of a genuine Roman pipe.

Mr. Grover stated that a pipe similar to that now before the meeting had been discovered in France.

Mr. Cuming read the following paper

ON EPISTOLARY VALENTINES.

“Muse, bid the morn awake!
Sad winter now declines,
Each bird doth choose a mate,
This day’s St. Valentine’s.
For that good bishop’s sake
Get up, and let us see
What beauty it shall be
That Fortune us assigns.”

Thus speaks good old Michael Drayton to his Valentine upon the dawn of the martyr’s festival.

Brand, Hone, and a host of other writers, have set forth much respecting St. Valentine, and the divers customs connected with, and observed on, the day assigned to his honour; but as yet a mere nothing has been contributed towards the history of those sweet little *billet doux* yclept “Valentines,” regarding the origin and antiquity of which we are much in the dark.

It has frequently been asserted that there exists in the British Museum a number of poetical Valentines written by Charles Duke of Orleans, the father of Louis XII of France; but the truth is that these

are merely copies of some love-verses of his, in a manuscript of the time of Henry VIII, which differ widely from what we now understand as Valentines.

A correspondent signing himself "M. D.", in *Notes and Queries* (3rd Series, xii, p. 327, Oct. 26, 1867), states he is in possession of a Valentine of the seventeenth century, written in blood, and consisting of this quatrain :

"Theise loving lines which I to you have sent,
In secresy in my hart's blood are pent.
Ye pen I slipt as I ye pen did make,
And freely bleeds, and will do for your sake.

John Birchall, 1684."

These lines are certainly much in the style of a Valentine, but it may be a question if they be aught than the whispers of fervid affection in doggrel rhyme; and we have still to discover when and where arose the idea of gushing nymphs and swains fulminating anonymous amatory epistles on the 14th day of February. I have striven hard to find some indubitable and tangible proof that the custom is of long standing; but up to this time three manuscript Valentines of the last quarter of last century are the oldest examples which have turned up, and these are now submitted by Dr. Kendrick. They are all indited to the same lady, an ancestress of one of the "Balaklava Six Hundred." These rare and curious epistles are all written on squares of foolscap-paper varying in size from 13 to 12 inches, and are doubled up in a very complicated manner most difficult to describe; and all that can be attempted is to indicate the poems as they meet the eye as fold after fold is raised. The first specimen we take is folded in a square, and has on its front a great pink heart surrounded by red and blue rays, and enclosed in a circle; and in each corner is a line of poetry, making up this quatrain :

"To thee I write, sweet Turtle Dove ;
I've wrote a morral of my love.
The powers of Envy cant pertend (*sic*)
To say I have false storys pen'd."

On the back of the square is another, but much smaller, red heart, the corner lines declaring :

"Dear love, this heart which you behold
Will break when you these lines unfold.
Even so my heart with love-sick pain
Sure wounded is, and breaks in twain."

As we continue to unfold the sheet we read :

"My dearest dear and blest divine,
I've pictured here your heart and mine ;

But Cupid with his fatal dart
 Hath wounded deep my tender heart,
 And hath betwixt us set a cross,
 Which makes me to lament my loss."

On the inside of the sheet is a rich display of hearts and roses, mingled, amid which are the sun, moon, and stars, a most diabolical looking Cupid with a bow, etc., accompanied by this affectionate effusion :

" You are the girl and only maid
 That hath my tender heart betray'd.
 Nor ever will my heart have ease
 Until our hearts are join'd like these.
 If you refuse to be my wife
 It will bereave me of my life.
 Pale Death at last must stand my friend,
 And bring my sorrows to an end
 Of your true love, Valentine, and friend.

T. C. Feb. 14, 1785."

The second Valentine before us is, like the foregoing, folded up in a square form in a very ingenious manner. On lifting the first folds, two hearts united at their broad ends are exposed to view, and around them we read a quatrain varying but little from that inscribed on the specimen we have just examined :

" This heart, my dear, as you behold,
 Will break as you these leaves unfold.
 Even so my heart with love-sick pain
 Sore wounded as it breaks in twain."

When the sheet is expanded, we find in the corners water-coloured drawings of good-sized doves and tulips ; and in the field a great rhomb with a heart in each angle, and a larger one in the middle, surrounded by these pathetic lines :

" O virgin fair ! O nymph divine !
 My life, my love, my heart is thine.
 A heart I ad (sic) that once was free,
 But now 's confind in chains by thee.
 My roving heart can never rest
 Till it finds room in your sweet breast.
 A lover true, a maid sincere,
 Is to be praised,—a thing most rare.
 Perhaps you think I am too bold
 Because I have not store of gold ;
 For if I ad (sic) you should have part,
 But as I ant (sic) you have my heart.

When this you see, pray think of me, and bear me in your mind,
 I am not like the wethercock that changes to every wind.

Thos. Preston."

The last of the three Valentines we have for inspection is without pictorial embellishments ; but the paper is cut out by hand, in a bold pattern, somewhat in the fashion of a stove-veil, flowers in dia-ta-pots and hearts being the motives of the design. It is folded over and over so as to form a triangle or "cocked hat," and within is written the following :

" Some draw Valentines by lot,
 And some draw them that they love not ;
 But I draw you whom I love best,
 And chuse you out amongst the rest.
 The ring is round that hath no end,
 And this I send to you, my friend ;
 And if you take it in good part,
 I shall be glad with all my heart.
 Excuse me now for being so bold,
 I should have wrote your name with gold ;
 But gold was scarce, as you may thiuk,
 Which made me write your name with ink.
 But if you do these lines refuse,
 The paper burn ; pray me excuse.

Tho. Groom.—Ann Jebb."

This Valentine presents two points of special interest, one being the distinct allusion which it makes to the ancient practice of drawing Valentines by lot ; the other, that it seems to be the germ of the perforated, beehive-shaped *appliqué*, which, when raised, displays beneath it a beautiful visage, or a Cupid, a heart struck by a dart, or some other touching device.

It seems that towards the close of last century books began to be published giving different forms of Valentines suitable to all tastes and conditions of society ; and about the commencement of the present century, Fairburn (110, Minories) issued two sixpenny pamphlets, one entitled *The Temple of Love, or Valentine-Writer* ; the other, *Fairburn's Quizzical Valentine-Writer*. In the Library of the British Museum are a few other pamphlets of this class, the earliest being *The New and Complete Valentine-Writer for the Year 1805* : London, 1805. The next in point of age was printed at Banbury *circa* 1825, and is called *A New and Complete Valentine-Writer for the Present Year*. Then there is *The New Valentine-Writer, or Mirror of Love ; a Selection of the Best and Newest Valentine Verses, Acrostics, etc.* : Glasgow, 1840. The latest work of this kind in the national collection is *The Universal Valentine Letter-Writer* : London, 1854. These typographical aids to the manifestatation of affection would indicate that lovers long clung to pen and ink Valentines in preference to those produced by the engraver, although the latter has been catering for the public for full half a century, for I have seen one example of his craft which bore the London

postmark of 1822. The exact era of the introduction of printed Valentines is one of the enigmas in connexion with these *billets doux* which are yet to be solved, as is also the time when pasquinade and caricature began to run neck and neck with the sweet utterance of love, and mechanism was evoked to heighten the effects of pictorial art.

What the modern Valentine is like, and its tender effects on the fair, are so prettily told in E. Collier's *St. Valentine*, that pardon will be granted for winding up these rough notes with its first verse :

“Laughing maiden, bending low,
With a cheek o' crimson glow,
O'er a little loving lay
That the postman left to-day,
Pink and scented, dear and true,
With a glowing picture too,
Which a pair o' hearts displays
Frizzling o'er a mystic blaze,
While a little shivering Cupid,
Looking very cold and stupid,
Points, with looks that scorn resistance,
To a steeple in the distance,—
Laughing maiden, hear from me
What my Valentine ust be.”

British Archaeological Association.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING,

WOLVERHAMPTON, 1872.

AUGUST 5TH TO 10TH INCLUSIVE.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, 5 AUGUST.

THE twenty-ninth Annual Congress, held at Wolverhampton, commenced, under the presidency of the Right Hon. the Earl of Dartmouth, in the Council Chamber at the Town Hall, where, shortly after two o'clock, the members of the Association were formally received and welcomed to the town by the Mayor and Corporation of the borough. There was a large attendance of the Aldermen and Councillors in their robes of office, and of the Vice-Presidents, members of the Association, and the Local Committee, together with a considerable number of ladies. At the commencement of the proceedings the Earl of Dartmouth occupied a seat on the right of the Mayor; and to the left of his Worship were the High Sheriff of the county, H. Ward, Esq.; the Rev. Henry Moore, Archdeacon of Stafford; the Rev. J. H. Iles, rector of St. Peter's, Wolverhampton; Lieutenant Colonel Bagnall; the Hon. and Rev. A. Anson, M.A.; Mr. George Godwin, F.R.S.; Major Thorneycroft; Mr. H. Godwin, F.S.A.; Mr. A. Goldsmid, F.S.A.; Mr. T. Morgan; Mr. R. N. Phillips, D.C.L., F.S.A.; Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Hon. Treasurer; Mr. Edward Levien, M.A., F.S.A., and Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. General Secretaries; Dr. J. N. Langley, Hon. Local Secretary; Mr. W. de Gray Birch, Hon. Palæographer; Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., Hon. Curator and Librarian; Mr. B. Hicklin; and several others.

The Mayor, addressing the Earl of Dartmouth and the members of the Association, said that, on behalf of the inhabitants of Wolverhampton, it afforded him very great pleasure to offer them a hearty welcome, in the truest sense of the word, to their good old town, and he trusted that their visit might prove both pleasurable and profitable. There were many matters and things connected with this ancient town, and with different events of national importance, that had from time to time occurred, which were deeply interesting, but of which the inhabitants of Wolverhampton and neighbourhood had only a dim and uncertain knowledge; and he trusted one result of the visit of this Association would be to find out what the people of Wolverhampton were

themselves unacquainted with, and to put all such matters in their true light. He could assure the members of the Association that he felt the town was honoured by their visit, and they were very pleased to see them. Personally, he should only be too happy to do all that lay in his power to further the objects of their visit, and to assist them in any way that he possibly could. Although Wolverhampton was situated in what was termed the "Black Country," still he thought there would be found many good things in the locality well worthy the attention of an Association like theirs. He trusted that this would prove to be the case, and that their visit would be one of pleasure to them in every sense of the word. He had now great gratification in asking Lord Dartmouth to take the chair as President of the Congress.

The Earl of Dartmouth having, amidst the enthusiastic applause of all present, taken the chair vacated by the Mayor, his Lordship, as President, then proceeded to deliver the inaugural address, which is printed at pp. 19-26 *ante*; and at its conclusion proposed, as President of the Association, that its sincere thanks be tendered to the Mayor and Corporation for their cordial reception.

Dr. Langley, as Hon. Local Secretary, seconded the proposition, and said that the kindness of the Mayor and his readiness to help had been to him a great relief, and had very much lightened the burden which fell upon him in his official capacity.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The Mayor briefly responded, again assuring the Association that it was most heartily welcome.

Archdeacon Moore said he had been requested to do what he was sure he had very great pleasure in doing,—proposing a vote of thanks to their noble President for his presence upon that occasion, and more especially for the exceedingly interesting address he had delivered to them. His Lordship had said of the former monks of that place, that they were "not quite so good as they might be." No doubt the monks had their faults, like others, and, as old institutions, had come to a great and terrible pass; but it must never be forgotten that we were indebted to them for writings which, of all archæological things, were the most venerable,—uncontaminated copies of Holy Scripture, as well as a vast amount of general literature in relation to this country. He regretted, with his Lordship, as respected Lichfield, the loss of Lord Brooke's coat, and more especially for the cause of that loss; but when they got to Lichfield they would find, in place of the coat that was shot, the gun that directed the shot. He was just informed that the gun would be brought there. Had it not been so, he should at Lichfield take the liberty, with Colonel Dyott, of showing the visitors there that very great curiosity. Lord Dartmouth had expressed a great desire to see the plaster upon the west front of Lichfield Cathedral replaced by stone.

No one could more desire to see that done than he (the Archdeacon) did. It could only be done at a vast expense; but he believed that if the Dean and Chapter were permitted to make an agreement they were proposing to make with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, funds would be found for commencing the work; and, no doubt, all persons in the county, who took an interest in the work, would assist in its completion. That front was a great warning against some sorts of hero-worship in general, and against plaster-worship in particular; but still it was the best specimen of plaster-work to be seen. Yet it was plaster, and so far bad; and he hoped that there would be no more such plaster-work again; and he would be glad to see the noble front of that important edifice of the grand old Church of England, which was so strenuously supported in these days by their President, once more stone, and no longer plaster. His Lordship had said that there was little to be seen that was picturesque immediately around where they were assembled; but he (the Archdeacon) thought that any one with an eye for the picturesque might there find much that would interest it. When he went out on what people facetiously termed his "steeple-chases" (visiting and inspecting the churches), he could find, even among the tall chimneys, and the whirl of their machinery, much that was picturesque amid all their smoke. In conclusion, he only hoped that if time should permit them to visit Pattingham Church they would not fail to note the extreme beauty of the chancel, the old lancet-windows, and the fine old buttresses, and see how much they were all indebted to Earl Dartmouth for his aid to the church.

The Mayor seconded the motion, hoping that many, very many, years would elapse before they lost the services of a nobleman like the Earl of Dartmouth.

Mr. George Godwin, as senior Vice-President of the Association, supported the resolution most heartily, and expressed the thanks of the Association for the hearty reception they had received at the hands of the Mayor. It seemed to him that a visit from such an Association to such a town was most appropriate. Here was a town which savoured strongly of the present, and yet was largely connected with the past; and he considered it most important that whatever recalled to them that past should be preserved, and that they should not permit their old landmarks to be swept away. Here they were executing works in iron and other metals, which, although they often exhibited a certain taste in design, yet the remains of old metal-work showed them a beauty of workmanship which was too frequently wanting in the work of these days. Even then, for the sake of their present day work, it was well for them to preserve that which recalled the past. Some people were of opinion that such Associations as that now visiting them had done their work; but he thought that that Association was more needful

now even than twenty years ago, for every day time itself was sweeping away the antique : and where man added his hand to the spoiler's work, there was little hope of preservation. By such visits as that now being paid to Wolverhampton, inhabitants of towns were led to look more closely and curiously at the remains of the past, and to conclude that that which was worth the visit of so many from so far was worth preserving.

The resolution was then put by the Mayor, and carried by acclamation.

The Earl of Dartmouth, in returning thanks, strongly recommended an evening visit to Dudley Castle, having been told that many foreigners who had viewed from its heights the country round at night, had declared it to be one of the most striking sights they had ever seen. He must apologise for his inability to accompany them in all their excursions, and assured them that his absence on any occasion would be due to no want of interest in the Association, but to the fact that he had many matters to attend to before he left the country for a time.

Mr. Roberts, in drawing attention to the proposed operations for the week, remarked that, probably being so much in the habit of comparing one thing of the past with another, the members of the Association were more apt at discovering the origin and uses of what remained of the old than those who had not directed their attention so much to the subject: hence this visit of the Association might disturb some cherished traditions of the town and neighbourhood, such as that which was known as the "Danish Cross"; but he hoped that where this was the case, they would not only acquit the members of the Association of any wish to indulge in a carping spirit of scepticism, but give them credit for desiring to cast the light of truth only on such matters as came before them.

The members and their friends then went to the collegiate church of St. Peter, where the Rev. W. H. Kay read a paper by Mr. Parke upon the history of the church, which is printed at pp. 47-53 *ante*.

Mr. Ewan Christian, the architect from whose designs the structure has been restored, was also to have read a paper; and in his absence the Rector (the Rev. J. H. Illos) read the following extracts from a report drawn up by Mr. Christian in 1852 :

"Although it is more than probable that from the earliest times a church has occupied this site, yet there appears no good reason for believing that any part of the existing building was erected anterior to the commencement of the fourteenth century. To this period the lower part of the central tower and the greater part of the south transept undoubtedly belong; and it is probable that the wall of the south aisle and the encased western wall were erected at the same time, or not much later. As regards the tower, the evidence of this remains

nearly perfect, in pillars and arches which, though partially concealed from general view, may nevertheless be clearly made out by proper examination. In the south transept subsequent alterations and additions have partially concealed or destroyed the original outline; but in the east window and in the form of the buttresses there still remains sufficient evidence to show to what period its erection belongs.

"The south window was probably at one time of the same form as the eastern one; but in the addition of the clerestory at a later period it was considerably shortened, and a depressed arch introduced instead of the higher one, to admit of the continuation of windows correspondent with those of the nave. Similar causes have been followed by like results in the wall of the south aisle. Were it not for the form of the buttresses, the depressed four-centred arches of the windows in this aisle would at first sight lead to the supposition that the wall in which they were placed was of Perpendicular character; but a closer examination will, I think, clearly prove that the upper part of the wall has been rebuilt at a later period, and that at that time the present arches were inserted. The buttresses, the entrance-doorway, and the body of the porch, are certainly of an earlier date, and belong to the Decorated style of the former half of the fourteenth century. The western wall having been cased externally, and its original features destroyed, its date is not now exactly discoverable; but the small size of the western window, the outline of which, I believe, has not been greatly altered, would seem to show that it belonged to an earlier period than the side-walls of the nave, because at the time when these were erected large western windows were almost universally used in such churches. I think, therefore, that the south side and western nave-walls, together with those of the lower part of the tower and the south transept, enclosed a church, no part of the interior of which is now standing. The older church may possibly have been destroyed by fire or other accident; and it is by no means improbable that fire was the cause of its destruction, as the interior of the walls has evidently been cased, especially about the windows, in a manner which would otherwise appear inexplicable. This, however, is only a suggestion. It would be beside the purpose of this paper further to follow up such an inquiry.

"It is most probable that the north transept was erected and completed previous to the destruction of the more ancient nave. In the next era in the progress of the church, the pillars and arches of the nave were erected as high as the base of the clerestory walls. These belong to the earlier half of the fifteenth century, and are of bold and simple character. The very beautiful pulpit (forming part of one of the southern pillars) gives, in the character of its details, additional evidence to the accuracy of this date. The upper part of the tower

above the clerestory was probably the next point to which the builders of the church directed their attention, and shows, by the fineness of its proportions, and in the beautiful character and vigorous treatment of its details, the great skill and taste of those who superintended its erection.

"Last in the history of this fine structure come those portions of it which are now most decayed, the clerestory of the nave and south transept; and these may, I think, be correctly dated in the close of the fifteenth century. Erected in the decline of the art, they nevertheless show that those who directed the building were excellent artists,—men fully capable of carrying out work of the highest character, and stamping upon it no small measure of originality and beauty. Thus it will be seen that during two whole centuries was this great edifice in progress, gradually rising under the hands of successive generations of men, each striving to improve upon the example of his predecessor, and to do his part in carrying out the work to perfection. At the close of the fifteenth century it must have been a truly glorious structure.

"That the chancel and church should at any time have been well united internally, is almost impossible, owing to the narrowness of the tower archways. This does not appear, however, to have been much regarded by the architects engaged upon the church in the fifteenth century, because they still further narrowed the opening of the archway next the nave; and the staircase at the south-west angle of the tower, which is an addition of later date than the tower itself, evidently shows that the nave was terminated by a rood loft and screen, &c., of unusually large dimensions, placed to the westward of the archway against the tower wall. The doorway in the upper part of the staircase, may, I think, be pronounced to be of Norman workmanship, and it may have formed the shaft or pedestal of a cross, the upper part of which has been long destroyed. The material of which it is composed being sandstone, and the block being set contrariwise to its quarry bed, the weather has greatly acted on its surfaces, and, by ploughing them out in grooves and holes, has produced marks and indentations which have so much the appearance of the carver's work, that at first sight it appears much more richly wrought than a closer examination proves it to have been. The upper step is circular in form, and is a single block of stone seven feet in diameter. Other steps probably lie buried beneath the surface, the soil having been much raised in this part of the churchyard."

The Rev. J. H. Iles remarked that the north transept alone presented any remains of the ancient roof of the church, though the roof of the other portions had been restored in what they believed to be the style of the original. In reference to the statement by Mr. Christian, that the pulpit was part of the column so close to which it appeared,

Mr. Iles said that he had, like many others, fallen into the trap set in the reign of the whitewashers of our ecclesiastical edifices. Until 1852 the pulpit was covered to a considerable thickness with whitewash, and was believed to be part and parcel of the pillar, and that both were formed out of one and the same block of stone. This opinion, however, was abolished with the removal of the whitewash. Of the screens, those of the north and west were still preserved, but there was no remnant left of the large screen. The old chancel, he might add, was destroyed in 1662, and what took its place was of a very poor character. It was pulled down in 1863, except the lower part of the walls, and the present structure re-built in the style that Mr. Christian conceived the original to have borne. The parts of the old walls had been plastered over, awaiting decoration with frescoes, which would be mentioned that afternoon. The oldest register of the church was dated 1603. The records were said to have been kept in the chapter room, and were believed to have been destroyed by fire a century ago. Here, too, were kept some old stalls, said to have been brought from Lilleshall in 1640.

Mr. Roberts, in relation to the bells said to have been brought from Wenlock, wished that Mr. Parke had given the dates and superscriptions upon the bells; for he (Mr. Roberts) had written a description of Wenlock Priory, and was not aware that the bells had come here. He thought the north transept was of later date than that which they had heard assigned to it. With regard to the galleries he assured Mr. Iles of the concurrence of the Association with the intention to remove them and complete the full restoration of the church.

Mr. Iles gave the dates and legends on the bells, as follow:—

1 and 2. "T. Mears of London fecit 1827"; 3. "E. S. T. Churchwardens Bachelors 1698"; 4. "God save the Church of England and the founder —98"; 5. "We were all cast in Gloucester E. S. G. T P. 1693"; 6. "God prosper Wolverhampton. Long may we ring. 1689"; 7. "The clapper hong to leng in mee, my founders pray think of me. —98"; 8. "Abraham Rudhall. T. Ball. 1698"; 9. "Mr. Bache Gent. gave £12 towards casting vs. 1698"; 10. "Edwd. Sheldon Gent. Job. Pershouse paid for casting the toll."

On the Great Bell:—

'All you that hear my mournful sound,
Repent before you lie in the ground,
And seek the Lord while here you breathe,
For there's no repentance after death.'

Francis Butler, Samuel Bennet, Churchwardens.

'Henry Bailey made me. 1740.'

Mr. Roberts said that, from the fact that the oldest date was 1698 it appeared that none of the bells had come from Wenlock. He added

that Rudhall was the name of a family that was famous for a century for casting bells at Gloucester.

Mr. George Goodwin said that what struck him most about the interior of the church was its extreme dignity and majesty. He knew of no church interior which produced such an impression of what he could denominate only by the words dignity and majesty.

After inspecting several of the monuments and the greater curiosities of the interior of the church, the company assembled in its most antique portion—the transepts, and beneath the tower—and a discussion ensued as to their date and character.

Mr. G. M. Hills said the question was what was the actual age of that part of the church in which they were then assembled. The time of Mr. Christian's visit and report was not so favourable for the formation of an opinion as the present; and Mr. Hills thought that if Mr. Christian saw it as they saw it, he would come to a conclusion different, in many respects, to that which he had reported. He himself regarded the portion where they were standing, immediately beneath the tower, as a very beautiful specimen of the early English style, not decorated, of about the year 1240. He gave the date of the fifteenth century to the north transept, though it was very difficult to assign a precise date to the architectural work which characterised that period.

Reference was then made to a pillar in the churchyard at the entrance of the church. As the rain descended, its character was discussed beneath the tower, from a good photograph provided by Mr. W. Parke.

The Rev. J. H. Iles read an extract from Mr. Christian's report already quoted, and added that in order to test the correctness of Mr. Christian's supposition as to steps beneath the surface, a hole had been dug and no other steps found; nor had the surface of the ground been added to it at all. The pillar was where it was first placed, and where a cross would naturally be placed—at the summit of a hill.

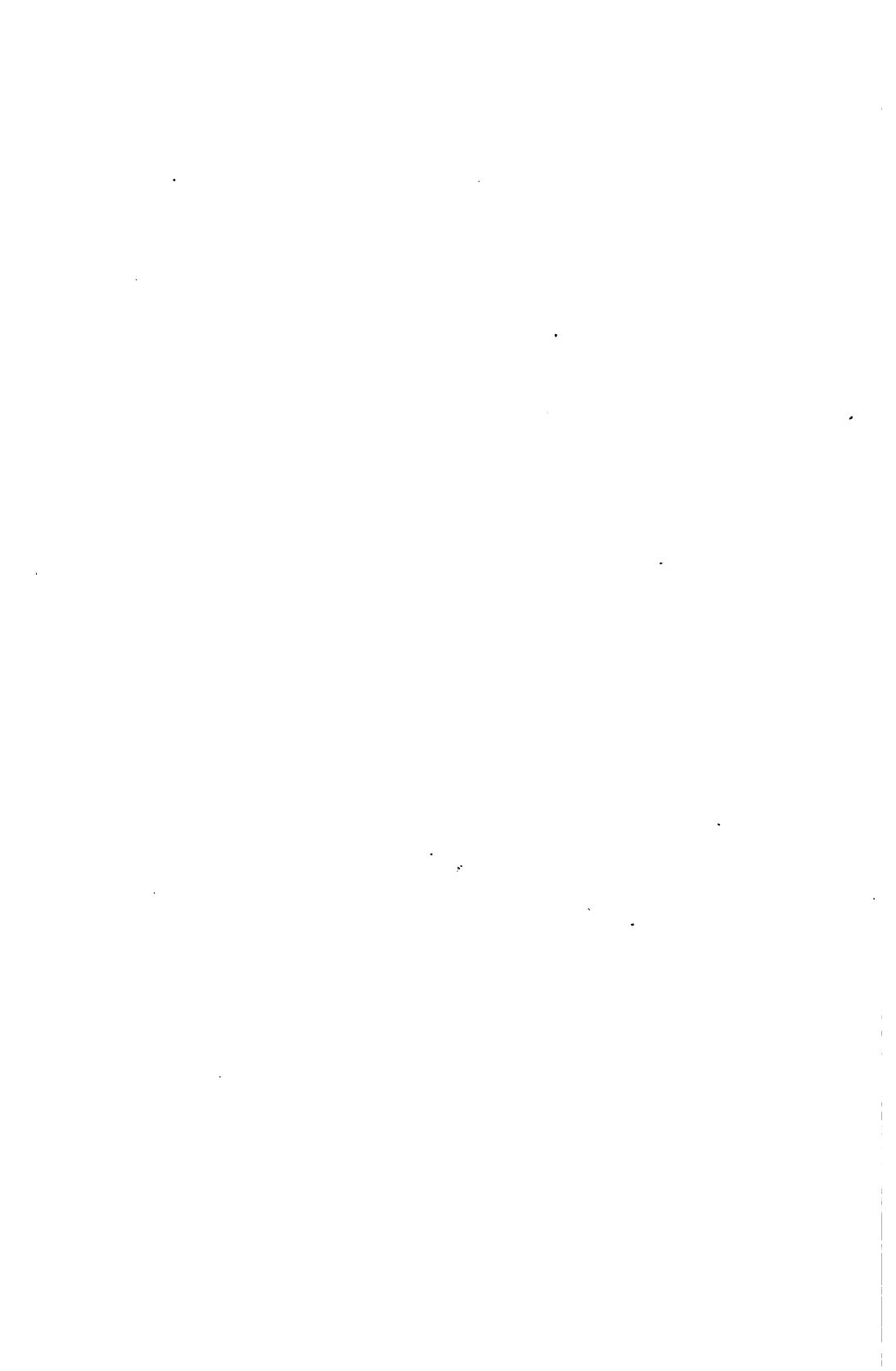
Mr. E. Levien, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Sec., having been called upon to make some remarks respecting it, said it was with considerable surprise that he found that morning for the first time that he was announced to comment upon so important and interesting a monument, as he had only just had time to see it on a previous short visit to the town, and had not at all examined it with a view to pronouncing any opinion upon it. He could only say that it had hitherto been believed to be a Danish column, from the traces of what were supposed to be the figures of ravens sculptured upon it: ravens having been held in great veneration by the Danes as the companions of their god Odin, as the eagle was believed to be that of Jupiter, the owl of Minerva, and various other birds of sundry deities in heathen mythology. The Danes, as was well known, had two emblematical ravens—one indicative of victory and the other of defeat; and the question was which of these two, the ravens seen by some on this

pillar were. It was certain that the Danes committed extensive ravages in Mercia in A.D. 872, and it was thought by many that this pillar must have been put up to commemorate one of the Danish victories of that date, as it was not usual for people to commemorate their own defeats. The Saxons, on the other hand, affirmed that the Danes suffered an enormous overthrow in this part of Mercia; but there was no doubt that whatever might have been the result of any particular action, the Danes succeeded in firmly establishing themselves here. The cross might, therefore, have been erected to commemorate some victory, but whether of the Danes or Saxons it was impossible to say; or, again, it might be a religious monument. It was in a very dilapidated condition; but observations would be made upon it by their Honorary Treasurer, who had examined it, and would, he believed, enunciate opinions entirely different to those which had been hitherto held respecting it.

Mr. G. M. Hills, Hon. Treasurer, remarked that whether crosses were erected to commemorate victories he would not pretend to say, but it was well known that in ancient times crosses were erected merely as landmarks. Without any idea of a religious character, it was well known that the Romans raised crosses as landmarks; in fact, it was one of their rules, when surveying a country, that crosses should be erected at special and important points. It was very probable that a cross, occupying the position which this did, belonged to very ancient times, but its date depended very much upon what meaning they attached to the words "very ancient." He had no hesitation in saying that this cross was of great antiquity, but he failed to discover anything known of the Danes upon it, or to see anything of the ravens of the Danes about it. They would observe certain open spaces in the lower part, and then certain figures in the form of half a lozenge. Five of these could be traced half way up, leaving five spaces below for a figure under a canopy. In one of these spaces there were distinct traces of a figure. The figures to be traced above those canopies showed that it could not be a Danish, but that it must be a Christian monument. He found in one the ox of St. Luke, in a second the angel of St. Matthew, and in a third the lion of St. Mark, and in a fourth the emblem of St. John, while the fifth was filled with scroll work. This showed that the design was to give the symbols of the four Evangelists, and from this they could venture to hazard a notion of what filled the spaces below the canopies; and from the absence of symbol in the fifth canopy, they might venture to assume that in the fifth space the crucifixion was represented. On one panel in the photograph he fancied he saw the remains of a cross, immediately to the right of where the figure would be traced. The beautiful enrichments above were merely scroll work, with various animals, griffins and others, represented in grotesque form and of monstrous description. He thought the date of the cross

PLATE 3





was about the twelfth century—the beautiful scrolls would be the work of that century. He had examined the top of the column, and found evidence of provision for the insertion and fixing of other stone—probably a cross. He agreed with Mr. Christian that it was of Norman origin, and he had no doubt it was Norman work, and belonged to the Norman period, namely, the twelfth century.

The party then proceeded, by invitation of Major Thorneycroft, to his residence at Tettenhall, *en route* to Tettenhall Church, the gallant Major conveying several ladies and gentlemen by his coach and four while the rest proceeded by omnibus. Unfortunately the rain fell heavily, and although the Major's numerous guests enjoyed to the full the elegant hospitality extended to them by himself and his family, the weather forbade their walking round his beautiful premises and seeing the pleasant views of the surrounding country, which are to be obtained from his grounds. The thanks of the Association having been given to their kind host and his family, the members again took to their carriages and proceeded to Tettenhall Church, where the Hon. Chas. Wrottesley described the more prominent archaeological features, stating that it was the remains of one of those royal foundations of a collegiate character, established by the Saxon Kings, and providing for a Dean and five priests. With others it was suppressed in the reign of Henry VIII, when the manor and tithes were bought by the Wrottesleys, and most of the documents appertaining to them were now at Wrottesley. The east window was of the time of King John, about the year 1203, and there was but one other specimen in England. Another feature of interest was that part called the Wrottesley chantry, where the Wrottesleys were buried. What purpose that part of the church originally served was not now known. The rest of the church was of a much earlier date than the chancel, as could be seen by contrasting the pillars.

Mr. Roberts characterised the church as one of great interest to the archaeologist. The foundation was clearly of Norman date and character, a long narrow nave and rather short chancel, the original edifice appearing to have been extended about a century and a half later. There were some beautiful mouldings in the chancel, but of a date later than the east window. The peculiarity of the place was that the whole of the Norman church without the chancel had, with the exception of two columns, been destroyed. The chancel had been extended; and the chantry, which was a sort of transept, added. The nave had been increased at an early date to meet no doubt the wants of a growing population, which must have increased rapidly at an equally early date in Tettenhall. With regard to the east window, he remarked that he did not recollect any window so large of the description that was built so low. Though battered and out of form it was a very per-

fect specimen of mediæval art. There was a very curious incised alabaster slab of the sixteenth century in the chantry bearing date 1517. It was really a treasure of the sixteenth century, for he had seen but two or three others, all of the same century, when they appear to have been used, but about that period only. He complimented those concerned on the care with which this treasure and all other archæological objects were preserved in that church, remarking that so far as stimulating the preservation of the remains of the past was concerned there was no need of a visit of the Association to Tettenhall. Its commendation and approval, however, might be an encouragement.

The several objects of interest underwent minute inspection, and much discussion took place with respect to the original position of the wood canopy in the Wrottesley chantry, the result being a conviction that it still occupied the position it always had occupied, an assurance being also given that originally an altar was built against the wall beneath.

At the invitation of Major Thorneycroft a visit was paid to the five old yew trees that ornament the churchyard, the girth of the two principal being measured and found to be, one twenty, the other twenty-four feet round. Major Thorneycroft remarked that though churchwardens were no longer required as one of the duties of the office to plant yews to provide wood for crossbows, yet some seven or eight years ago when he and Mr. Griffin were churchwardens they planted another yew in the churchyard.

The party then returned to town, and in the evening the usual opening dinner took place at the Swan Hotel, where the presence of a considerable number of ladies gave additional interest to the proceedings.

The Earl of Dartmouth presided, having as vice-chairmen Mr. Gordon Hills and Mr. E. Roberts. Amongst those assembled were the following: The Mayor (Joseph Ford, Esq.), the Hon. C. Wrottesley, the Hon. and Rev. A. Anson, the Rev. J. H. Iles, Major Thorneycroft, Captain Perry, Major Loveridge, Lieutenant Horman Fisher, Alderman Ironmonger, and Miss Ironmonger, Mr. W. Warner, Mr. Parke, Mr. G. R. Wright, Mr. and Mrs. Griffin, Mr. R. N. Philpotts, Mr. and Mrs. W. Davis, Mr. E. Levien, Captain R. P. Walker, Mr. De Lessert, Dr. Langley, Alderman Walker, Mrs. Gow and Mrs. Roberts, Mrs. H. Roberts and the Misses Roberts, Mr. H. Godwin, Mr. G. Godwin, Mr. Blane, Mr. W. Hatton, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Marsden, Mr. and Mrs. Bidlake, Miss Leach, Mr. G. N. Smith, Mr. H. Love, &c.

When the cloth had been withdrawn, and grace said by the Rev. J. H. Iles,

The President, in proposing the first toast, said he need not tell them what that toast was, but he might say that he hoped the time was

very far distant when the monarchy of England would become the subject of archaeological research. He believed that archaeologists were as loyal as any other body of men—and that all present would join him in drinking cordially and heartily the "Health of the Queen and the Royal Family."

The Chairman said the next toast he had to propose was one which he was sure all present would join as heartily in drinking as the last. It was that of the bishop and clergy of the diocese, coupling with it the name of the Rev. Mr. Iles. As Mr. Iles was facing him he could not say of him all that he should like to say, but he would say this, that the members of the Archaeological Association ought to feel specially grateful, as he was sure they did, to that gentleman for the manner in which he had acted as their cicerone that day in and around the grand old church of St. Peter in this town. He was very glad to see Mr. Iles present with them on that occasion, for he must say that the more one saw of him the more one learned to respect him.

The Rev. J. H. Iles, in responding to the toast, said he would simply, in speaking on behalf of the Bishop, acquaint those present that his Lordship had shown a warm interest in the proceedings of the Association, in reference to their visit to Wolverhampton. The members would, he believed, share his hospitality on the morrow, and they would then see for themselves how very much he was attached to the work in which they were engaged. Speaking personally, he might say that he was himself specially interested in the visit of the Association to Wolverhampton, because he was in the fortunate position, which many of his clerical brethren were not, of being the incumbent of a very old church. He was also fortunate in being surrounded by, and having the support of, men who took a great interest in the welfare of that church, and who were very anxious to have it wholly restored to its original architectural proportions and beauty; and when he said this, he might especially single out one of those gentlemen—whose paper on the history of the church had been read that afternoon, to whom he and others connected with the church were very deeply indebted for the great interest he had for a long period taken in it. They did not need the visit of this Association to teach them their duty in regard to their venerable church, but he did value the visit of the Association for this reason: it would have the effect of spurring them on in the good work. Encouraged by their approbation of what they had done, backed up by their favourable opinion of what they proposed still further to do, they would be able to ask with greater confidence for the assistance they needed to enable them to carry out the work to the end. A great deal had been done to the old church, but a great deal still remained to be done, and this Association had just come at the right time to say that what was proposed to be done was just what was necessary to be done. They

had, perhaps, cut the ground away from some of their old notions, especially with regard to the old pillar in the churchyard, but he did not think they would regret that, if it was proved to be a monument of Christianity and not of Paganism. At the same time, the gentleman who had broached so new a theory must not expect them to receive all he had said at once as gospel ; he might be certain that his arguments would be very carefully examined and criticised, and that they would take the opinions of other learned men on the subject, to compare with the opinions he had put forth, before they decided the question. He would only say that what had been put forward to-day had thrown a considerable degree of light on the matter, and would no doubt help to solve the long disputed question as to the true character of the pillar satisfactorily. He hoped that at some future time, when the gentlemen visited Wolverhampton again—if not as an Association, in their private capacities—they would find the old church very different to what it now was.

The Chairman proposed as the next toast, “The Army and Navy, and the auxiliary forces.” He said, although not an archaeological toast, yet in this county they were specially indebted to a retired member of the army, Captain Congreve, for the exertions he had so successfully put forth in helping to secure to the county the valuable library belonging to the late Mr. Salt. He knew too that amongst the most persevering students of archaeology as of other valuable studies, none followed that particular study with more zeal and perseverance than did the retired members of the army and navy. As there was no one present to represent the army and navy, he had great pleasure in coupling with the toast the name of Major Thorneycroft to respond for the auxiliary forces. They had that day had the pleasure of experiencing Major Thorneycroft’s hospitality, and he (Lord Dartmouth) could assure them that if their number had been six times larger Major Thorneycroft would only have been the more pleased to see them, for he was never so happy as when he was doing his best to make other people happy. He only wished the weather had been more favourable, so that they might have remained longer to admire the Major’s beautiful garden, but they were all very deeply indebted to him for the excellent arrangements he had made for their reception, and for their conveyance to and from his house.

Major Thorneycroft responded to the toast, and expressed his regret that the bad state of the weather that afternoon had prevented those members of the Association who were present here for the first time, from seeing the bright side of the country round about. For he might tell them that this “Black Country” had some bright spots in it—and he was sure if they had only seen the sun shining over Tettenhall as it often did, they would have been of opinion that there were still some

natural beauties and pleasures left in this much maligned region. He was very much pleased with the visit of the Archaeological Association to this locality, because it would have the effect of stirring up old feelings and bringing back to remembrance things that were of interest, and old associations which had almost passed away from the memory ; and thus the people living in the neighbourhood, having their minds awakened to the interest that was attached to such matters, would desire to cultivate the taste for the study of them, not only themselves, but by inviting their friends and acquaintances to do the same. He sincerely trusted, as a member of the Association for many years, though he rarely had attended its meetings, that their visit to Wolverhampton would prove both a pleasant and a profitable one ; that by their investigations many things would be discovered, and what was doubtful made clear ; and that those who accompanied them throughout the week would feel all the wiser and happier for the visit.

Mr. R. N. Philipps proposed the health of the President. He said it was most gratifying, in connexion with their visit to Wolverhampton, to find a nobleman so popular as Lord Dartmouth so willing to assist their efforts to promote the study of archaeology. That study, as being connected with works of the past, was interesting in many ways ; and not merely interesting, but useful. When they looked at the dimensions and the beautiful architectural proportions of some of the old churches of the country, they were led to wonder at what the men of those remote times, when those churches were built, were able to accomplish, and to wish that the architects and the men of the present day would try to imitate them. They looked at the stones of those venerable piles mouldering into ruins, and they endeavoured to make those stones speak as it were to them the lessons of the past, and to gather from them the history of their country in the various districts they visited, not merely architecturally, but so as to learn something of the polity of the country in those past ages. He felt certain that when noblemen like Lord Dartmouth were willing to aid them in their researches, they all felt deeply grateful to them for the substantial assistance they thus rendered not merely to the Association in its studies of archaeology, but to the country in general, by bringing forward the records of the various counties in which they respectively lived.

Lord Dartmouth, in responding to the toast, said that, from what he had seen of the objects of the Society, he felt very great pleasure indeed in presiding over their proceedings, and in rendering them all the assistance in his power in their important and useful investigations. Many persons residing in the county knew very little indeed of its history, and did not trouble themselves to look into it until their interest was awakened by the visit of an Association like

this, which led them to inquire into matters of which they were previously ignorant, or only slightly acquainted with; but which, on investigation, proved to be highly interesting. Thus it had been with regard to himself. In working out the task which was imposed upon him, of preparing an inaugural address, he had been led to make inquiries, the result of which was that he was now considerably better acquainted with the history of his native county than he had ever been before, and he was all the better for the knowledge he had gained. He had also been agreeably surprised to find that Staffordshire was so replete with old associations, and with the remains of ancient and interesting edifices; that instead of the Association having come to a neighbourhood where there was very little to see, they had rather come to a neighbourhood where they would not be able to get through all that there was to see in the time allotted for their visit. His Lordship recommended that, if it were possible, the members should on Wednesday, whilst in the neighbourhood of Boscobel, endeavour to get up to Pepper Hill, where they would find, in connexion with an old well, a kind of garden ornament, the work of the celebrated Inigo Jones, which in an architectural point of view was very curious, and well deserving of attention. In conclusion his Lordship said he was very much obliged to the Association for coming to this part of the country, as he believed their visit would be productive of a great deal of good. He hoped that the weather would be more favourable during the week than they had had that afternoon. However, whether it was so or not, he could promise them a warm and hearty reception at Patshull on Wednesday.

Mr. George Godwin said he had been requested to propose the next toast, and it was one which he was sure all present would receive with great unanimity. It was the health of the Mayor and Corporation of Wolverhampton. He proposed the toast with great pleasure and in all sincerity, because, in the first place, the kind reception which they met with from the Mayor and Corporation was exceedingly encouraging at the commencement of their week's excursions; and furthermore, he was quite sure that any remarks they might make on the antiquities of the town and neighbourhood would be received in the best possible spirit; in the same spirit, in fact, in which the remarks would be made. There were many things in Wolverhampton calculated to strike the eye of a stranger; and one matter which had impressed itself upon him very particularly was the fact that in an important town like this, where art formed so great a feature in connexion with the chief manufactures of the town, although there was a School of Art, yet, from the inquiries he had made, he found that it very much lacked support, and was in anything but a flourishing condition. He should be very glad if a few words like these, addressed to the working-men

of the town, or to those who had the leading of them, would induce them to make an effort to alter this state of things. It was a matter of almost reproach, that in many of our large manufacturing towns more attention still was paid to the making of money than to the promotion of education. He believed that the cultivation of art through the medium of schools established in our large manufacturing districts, and thus adapting it to the various modes of fostering a love for that which was beautiful, would materially conduce not merely to the physical good, but to the happiness of the people. He thought Mr. Gordon Hills deserved their great thanks for the admirable acuteness with which he described the old cross in front of the collegiate church. Still he (Mr. Godwin) was bound to say, as an old Saxon himself, that he could see no reason why the cross should not be of the Saxon period. It was baluster in shape, which was a shape they nearly always attached to an earlier people than the Normans; and without expressing any decided opinion, he must say that he could see no reason in the world why the cross should not be considered as of Saxon origin. He would not occupy their time longer, but would propose the toast of "The Mayor and Corporation."

The ex-Mayor (Alderman Walker), in the absence of the Mayor (who had been obliged to leave during the early part of the proceedings), briefly responded to the toast.

Mr. R. Horman Fisher proposed "Success to the British Archaeological Association." He said the Association had been heartily welcomed to Wolverhampton, and he believed they would be welcomed with equal heartiness at every place they intended to visit. He had been connected with the Association for many years, and knew that the work in which they were engaged was calculated to do a great deal of good. From what he had read of the proceedings of the Society, he found that they invariably left some good influences behind them at every place they visited. They dispelled old theories, made clear what was before uncertain, gave everybody better light and better views with regard to the history of the places in which they lived. He had great pleasure in proposing the toast, "Success to the Association," coupled with the name of Mr. Gordon M. Hills, their senior officer.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills responded, and said he had no doubt that the visit to Wolverhampton would be a successful one, and that the members of the Association would look back upon the short time they had spent in the neighbourhood with pleasure. They had not the slightest objection to have their views and opinions criticised, as they had been that afternoon with reference to the pillar in the churchyard. He would just mention that in the explanation which he gave he did not venture to combat the question whether the pillar was Norman or Saxon. The point to which his remarks were applied was as to whether

the origin of the pillar was Danish, as had been believed by some persons, whether it owed its origin to Christianity or paganism. He thought that any one who studied the matter, and tested the different opinions that had been expressed with regard to the pillar, would have no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion which he had wished Mr. Iles to arrive at with regard to it, and which it appeared Mr. Godwin had arrived at, viz., that it owed its origin to Christianity. As to whether it was of Saxon origin, that required an exceedingly close examination and a careful comparison of the carvings upon the pillar with other carvings which were known to be Saxon, before coming quickly to any definite conclusion. He endeavoured to show in his arguments that afternoon that the Saxons had more to do with architecture and monuments than for many years past it had been the custom to allow to them. He thought that if any one would carefully look at the pillar, particularly at the scroll-ornaments upon what he might term the second tier, he would be forced to the conclusion that it belonged to the twelfth century, for there was a decided tendency to Early English work in its carvings. That was his belief. It seemed to him that the British Archæological Association, in coming to Wolverhampton, had in a fashion repeated history. It was a well-known fact that the former inhabitants of this great kingdom of Mercia, which they had invaded, enjoyed an unusual amount of peace until they were disturbed by the Danes. The members of this Association had that afternoon returned the compliment by endeavouring to upset the Danes ; and he thought that after what had been said, their friends in Wolverhampton, and those who took any interest in the object of the discussion, must come to the conclusion that the Danish theory was perfectly untenable. There might be something said in favour of the Saxon theory ; but he thought the balance of argument was established in favour of a still later period. It was a very great pleasure to see so many friends assembled, more especially such old friends as Major Thorneycroft and Lieutenant Horman Fisher ; and he hoped that they would, at the end of the week, one and all carry away with them agreeable mementos of their visit.

Mr. Roberts proposed the health of "The Local Committee and its Officers." He said it would be invidious to name any particular member of the Committee, for they had all worked with an amount of zeal and energy, in connexion with the arrangements for this Congress, which, in his experience of their meetings (extending over many years), was unsurpassed. Yet he would fain single out two gentlemen who had been extremely zealous and active in the matter. He referred to Mr. Parke and Dr. Langley, who had been preeminently useful to them. He need not refer to their noble President, to whom, from the first, they had been very deeply indebted for his business-like assistance,

because that had already been referred to. When he told them that it was only on the 7th of June that the Association decided to hold their congress this year in Wolverhampton, and yet within two months of that time here they were, holding their meetings, with a perfect working committee, places arranged for them to visit, routes marked out, conveyances provided, and everything which was necessary properly arranged, he thought those who had had the same experience of these meetings as himself would agree with him in saying that never before had the arrangements for the Congress been made in so short a time, and so very satisfactorily. All this was due to the well-applied exertions, energy, and tact of Mr. Parke and Dr. Langley. As that remarkable monument in the churchyard had been referred to again that evening, he could not help adding, before sitting down, his mite to the discussion. Although it might be true, as had been said, that the cross belonged to the period of the twelfth century—and he must say that he himself had not examined the details of it with any particular care—still his impression was that it was Saxon; in other words, it might probably have been executed by Saxon workmen, and not by Normans, after the period of the Conquest. If that were so, it would clear away a difficulty. They all knew that between the Saxons and the Normans there was a very slight line of demarcation, and that what had been for centuries regarded as Saxon, now turned out to be Norman, and things that had been regarded for centuries as Norman turned out to be Saxon. Therefore it was quite possible that this cross was executed by Saxon workmen just at the turn of the century where the terminals of the mouldings showed the character of the age to which they belonged. He hoped that before the end of the week the Association would be able to settle the question with satisfaction to Mr. Parke and Mr. Iles. They had certainly no desire to assign to objects a later date than that which was usually given to them—as was shown by their having put eighty years on to the age of the central tower of the Collegiate Church. He had now great pleasure in proposing the health of the Local Committee and officers, coupled with the names of Mr. Parke and Dr. Langley.

After those two gentlemen had acknowledged the compliment, and Mr. G. R. Wright had in a short and sprightly speech proposed "The Ladies," which was enthusiastically received, the company separated.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 6TH.

On Tuesday morning at about 8.45 a start was made, by London and North-Western Railway, for Lichfield *via* Etocetum (now Wall), Elford and Haselour. At Brownhills the party left the train and proceeded by carriages along the Watling Street to Wall, a place which has obviously derived its present designation from its close contiguity

to the Roman wall that surrounded the once populous town and military station of the Romans called Etocetum. The conveyances having stopped in front of the Seven Stars, in a field almost immediately behind the house, known of old as the Butts field, were found the excavations made recently, by the kind permission of Messrs. Bagnall, Molyneux, and Lines, the tenants; and here Mr. Molyneux read the paper which is printed at pages 53-57 *ante*.

In addition to the excavations mentioned in the paper, an inspection took place of one made the previous day, showing a series of chambers, in which were found a number of tiles and various remains of Roman building materials, among others of round tile piping. An excavation had also been made in the field which had been the original site of the castle, and there, digging down, the rampart wall had been reached, which, from observations elsewhere, was found to be of an uniform thickness of nine feet. Even human remains were not wanting; as in addition to several bones of animals, one had been disinterred that had once formed part of the higher animal, man.

A visit was paid to the closely contiguous church, which is built over a buried temple to Minerva.

The next halting place was Elford Church, where the party was received by the rector, the Rev. F. C. Paget. A prettier spot than Elford and its church cannot be found in Staffordshire, and many another county would be glad to own it. The approach is by a grove of young limes, which have already grown into a beautiful arcade. The church is a restoration in all parts except the tombs of the Lords of the Manor. These latter are rich works of art in alabaster, and a copy of the finest and most ancient is to be found in the Crystal Palace. It is that of Sir Thomas Harding, and dates as far back as 1450. The recumbent effigies are those of Sir Thomas and his wife, the former in armour. The copy in the Crystal Palace is finely coloured; here, in the original, the colours have so faded that they are almost entirely wanting. Time has done its work with the colour, but scarcely with the form, the beauty of which still remains, its sharpness being not much impaired by four hundred years. The figures chiselled around the tomb are much finer than those on that of Sir William Smythe, of seventy-five years later. There is a fine tomb of a medium date between these two—that of Sir John Stanley, the founder of the chantry in which all these noble tombs, and one or two others of like materials are found. The most curious monument is the Stanton tomb, a semi-effigial monument, with one of the few coloured figures that are still to be found in our churches.

Mr. Roberts drew attention to a small incised alabaster tablet in the floor of the chancel, at the foot of the first-named tomb. It is similar to the larger one in the Wrottesley chantry at Tettenhall, and was of

the same period. Mr. Roberts inquired if anything was known of it; and on receiving a reply in the negative, said he asked the question because it was like the "boy bishop" tombs, the theory respecting which Mr. Planché had upset at Malmesbury.

Thanks having been returned to the rector for his having so kindly conducted the party during their tour of inspection, a start was made for Haselour Hall, the seat of J. Neville, Esq., who gave the Association a most hospitable reception. By this time it was two o'clock, and Mr. Neville most considerately and courteously refused to hear of any listening to his paper, or any following in his footsteps over his domain until his visitors had joined a party of his friends and neighbours at a *recherché* luncheon which he had caused to be spread beneath a large marquee erected on the spacious lawn in front of the hall. Ample justice having been done to the luncheon, Mr. Neville read the following paper upon

THE CHAPEL AND HALL OF HASELOUR.

"I cannot fix any date to this chapel, but it appears to be about 1100 or 1200, the west end with little spire I should say about 1300, and the east end, with a few yards of south wall, has been more recently rebuilt, about 1500. I find this chapel was taken possession of by Edward VI, on the 15th March, 1550, and since then it was conveyed in 1641 by deed as private property, with all royalties. The royalties include all fines laid upon individuals for misconduct, &c. No service except the funeral service has been performed there since about 1690. It is a curious point and showing the connection of Haselour and Elford that in that old deed of 1641 and one of 1679, not only is Haselour Chapel conveyed as private property with all royalties, but half the chancel of Elford Church and the burial ground under it are also so conveyed, and now really remain with me by those deeds. I must now leave you to form your own opinion of this chapel.

"With respect to the hall I am sorry that I cannot find any date, or any account which could lead me to the date, of its erection, but that it must be of very early origin is evident not only from the peculiar way in which it was built, but from the fact of its being restored in 1551, on the occasion of the marriage of John Brooke with Lucy Huddleston, the heiress of Elford, and I found, when restoring it again, as I began to do in 1860, that much of the timber then used had been previously used, it being morticed in places where not requisite for its last or rather present position. I will now explain how, upon careful examination, I found the original house had been built. The foundation was of sandstone, and a large stone was first placed at each corner,—none of these stones being square, or having perfectly square corners, or being true at the angle, the intermediate space between the corner stones being filled with stone of various sizes.

This foundation was of various heights from the ground, some parts being one foot, others two, or rather more; it appeared as if the size of the stones to be used was first considered; then on these stones raised above the ground was laid a large oak tree just axed square, and these blocks of wood must have been twenty inches square, some more; from the two corners were then morticed two upright blocks of oak varying in square from fifteen inches, and across from the top of these another large piece to carry the joists of the floor above. The intermediate space, after this window was placed, was fitted in with the oak framework, all beautifully morticed and pegged together with oak pegs; the lower floors were all on the solid ground except where over the cellar, and there strong oak beams were thrown over the excavation, and a floor of old floor cement, commonly called a stone floor, was thrown over. And now the framework has to be explained. The edges of all the pieces of timber were grooved, and short pieces of split oak from half an inch to an inch thick, and thinned at the edges, were slipped into the grooves, and these were covered with a very durable and hard cement or plaster. In restoring the house I have had great trouble to find out how to manage this plaster, and although I had a man from London to do one gable, a man from Ashby to do another, the third I managed myself, with a common bricklayer to assist, and a fourth I had a man of experience as a plasterer from Derbyshire to do, I have not yet succeeded in producing the beautiful, sound, hard, and almost imperishable cement that I took from the old panes, but I think that I have at last found out how to manage it, and as I have a gable at the back of the house to do, I trust I shall be successful there. I am glad I have that gable to do, as it will show you the state of all the gables; indeed, that was considered the best when I first began my restoration. I will not now say what alteration I made in my rectory as I shall better explain that as we go round. I must tell you that all the upstair floors were of the hard cement, or stone floors resting upon large oak joists, seven or eight inches by five to seven inches square. And now we come to the chimnies; they were all of brick, a particularly thin brick, a specimen of which I have, as all the old chimnies, with the exception of the large centre one, have been rebuilt. I think the brick will show the antiquity of the building. Now as regards the history of this house and its former occupants, Haselour has been very much mixed up with and confused with Elford, and in old documents, many of which I have, Haselour is described as the lordship of Haselour, in the parish of Elford. In fact the Stanleys resided in this house, and owned the property here with Elford, and Haselour passed from the Elford estate on the marriage of John Brooke with Lucy Huddleston of Elford in 1651, Elford Hall being then built; I believe not the present one. Mr. Paget, in his little book about Elford

Church, says that Henry VII passed the night before the battle of Bosworth Field at the residence of the Stanleys, he supposes in Elford, but as the Stanleys resided here then (I think Shaw in his *History of Staffordshire* mentions this house as the residence of the Stanleys then), I claim that event to have happened here; and as that part of the army under Sir W. Stanley was located only about eight miles from here, I think there is more than a fair presumption that he did so. I will give you any further information on going round. I have only now to propose success to the Archaeological Society, and to thank them for their company here to-day."

The party then visited the remains of the old chapel, which was committed upon by Mr. Roberts, who remarked that the roof was very barn-like, and there could be no doubt that its erection was not coeval with that of the church—in fact, could not have been there at any time that the building had been used as a church. The east window was as old as the fourteenth century. He could not pronounce positively, but the doorway seemed to be Norman, and there were many cases where a church was rebuilt, all but the doorway, which was left with all its old Norman characteristics. There was a main arch at the north end which in this way might have been part of the original foundation, the main portion of the building having been rebuilt.

The Association then accompanied Mr. Neville over his exceedingly interesting, handsome, and judicious restoration. The only portion of the lower apartments which retains its original form is the apartment now used as a kitchen. The thin Flemish bricks with which the chimneys were originally built, are here plainly seen; the alternate timber and concrete walls; the wood work all of oak, the main beam in the ceiling being of magnificent proportions, and as hard as iron. Mr. Neville stated that when he made his restorations he found no tools that could touch the oak with which the house was built, and he had to have tools specially made for the occasion. The other lower rooms have had their ceilings heightened and their floors lowered, but all upon the old foundations. Oak prevails everywhere. The mantelshelf in the dining room is a large magnificent carving in oak, designed by Mr. Neville himself. There, too, is a fine massive old oak sideboard. There was oak panelling upstairs and downstairs; a fine old specimen in one bedroom. The best bedroom boasts of a finely-carved massive bedstead, in "black oak," older than the oldest part of the house.

After the sincere thanks of all present had been returned to their kind entertainer for his hospitable reception and interesting description, the party left his ancient and most memorable mansion for Lichfield, which was reached soon after four o'clock.

Upon their arrival they at once repaired, by invitation of the Bishop of the Diocese, to the Palace. Thence Mr. Gordon Hills conducted

the members and visitors to the Cathedral, and delivered such portions of his description of it as the small time at command permitted. This and the history of the building by Mr. Hills will be printed hereafter. Commencing with the north side, he gave an elaborate description of the entrance to the northern transept, and of the minute and highly finished sculptures which adorn it. He then pointed out how on this side of the building those portions could be seen in their original and unrestored condition, which would afford authority for a just restoration in other parts, especially of the towers and west front where the ancient work has been lost under modern cement. Whilst earnestly advocating a restoration of those parts in stone, Mr. Hills said that even the cement work was not to be wholly despised. It had been well done, if anything so ill could be done well, but he thought that when it came to be removed the plaster would not be found so thick or so general as it appeared on a first inspection. A great part of the stone facing was merely smeared over by the plasterers to give uniformity to the look of their work, but the stone defied them, and as some workmen express it, "grins" through the cement in a great extent. He showed by the new stone window how a restoration in stone would bring out the beauties of the front. He found something to commend in the new buttresses in the south, deeming them very substantial and not unbecoming the rest of the Cathedral. The central tower was of the decorated period with many marks of reconstruction. The tomb placed between the two buttresses by the entrance to the southern transept, and the two further on by the Lady Chapel, were, with many other salient points of the exterior, duly dwelt upon. Then came a too rapid view of the interior, the ingenuity with which two styles had been blended in the vaults of the roofs of the aisles, beneath the western towers, being especially pointed out. Mr. Hills also drew attention to the very excellent and well preserved smith's ironwork of the thirteenth century, which still adorns the western doors. A visit to the chapter house and the return to Wolverhampton concluded the day.

The evening meeting was held in the Council Chamber at the Town Hall, under the presidency of Mr. George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., when a paper was read by Mr. John S. Phené, F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., &c., "On the Uniformity of Design and Purpose in the Works and Customs of the Earliest Settlers in Britain, evidenced by Comparative Archaeology," which is printed at pp. 27-36 *ante*.

Mr. T. Burgess next read a paper on "Ancient British Remains in the Forest of Arden," which will be found at pp. 37-44 *ante*.

Votes of thanks having been passed to Mr. Phené and Mr. Burgess for the papers they had read, and to Mr. Godwin for his able conduct in the chair, the meeting terminated.

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ON IRON AND THE IRONWORKS OF ROMAN BRITAIN.

BY J. W. GROVER, ESQ., C.E.

IT has been frequently stated that pottery, by its form, its abundance or its scarcity, is a sure indication of the civilisation of a people ; and by some eminent antiquaries the multiplicity and variety of the coinage of a state are taken as tide-gauges of the level of human progress on the sluice-gates of time. Yet I venture to claim for *iron* a still higher office in the world's story than either pottery or coinage, both of which preceded it ; and, curiously enough, this most abundant of all metals, and the most conspicuously exposed to day, in many parts of Europe, seems to have been the last of which man made use.

For countless ages before iron came into the humblest use, mankind had passed through the toilsome periods of *stone* or *flint* cutlery ; then of *copper*, pure, soft, and well-nigh useless, till at a later time hardened by *tin*, which the commercial enterprise of the Phœnicians transported from Cornwall to Sinai. In the comparatively civilised days when the Grecian chiefs wasted ten years so poetically in warring round the walls of Troy, bronze was the metal used for their offensive and defensive armour ; and Pliny, in his *Nat. History*, tells us that by an express stipulation the Roman people agreed with Porsena that they would only use iron for implements of agriculture. This was about four hundred years before the Christian era ; and for nearly three hundred years more they continued to use bronze weapons, with

which they encountered Hannibal in the second Punic war. Yet we have allusions in the Scriptures to the somewhat extensive use of iron in the time of Moses; and we well remember that the great King of Bashan, Og, boasted an iron bedstead, although we do not know what resemblance that article of furniture would bear to the present Birmingham make. Sisera, too, had nine hundred chariots of iron, which indicates an extensive iron rolling stock in his time, which was thirteen hundred years before the Christian era.

But as we pass further west into the land of the Gauls and Britons, we find bronze weapons in almost universal use at the period of the Christian era. From these data we are enabled, in some measure, to note the high progress of civilisation which the nations of ancient Syria had attained at a very early period, as compared with that of the rest of Europe. When Cæsar landed here he found a limited use of native iron among the natives, as he states, in rings for money; but he must have been in some error here, for gold and silver coinage existed to a large extent in Britain before his arrival.

The tardy introduction of iron into the West can only be ascribed to the difficulties involved in generating the high heat required to smelt it. The most primitive method which appears to have been employed was to construct a small "air-blomery," or blast-furnace, or chimney of clay, in which alternate layers of ironstone and charcoal were placed, and through the bottom of which funnel-shaped holes entered from the sides. This primæval structure stood on the top of high ground; and when the wind blew, a species of feeble blast was obtained, and the ore was sufficiently reduced to be capable of manipulation between heavy stones. I need not state that this was a "cold-blast" process, and I cannot find that the idea of "hot-blast" seems ever to have entered into the head of the primitive ironmaster; yet we do find a rough conception of it in the furnaces of the ancient Peruvians for smelting silver, who employed furnaces such as I have described, but with the addition of stone hearths outside each air-hole, on which burning charcoal was laid to heat the air before it entered the furnace. This is "hot-blast."

The next improvement in the iron-make appears to have been the employment of bellows for creating artificial blast.

These seem to have originated in Central Asia, and consisted of goat-skins worked by a woman or a boy, probably by the feet. This was a great step in the right direction. Those amongst us who take an interest in the iron-trade, no doubt have read of a number of experiments conducted of late by Mr. Crampton at Woolwich Arsenal, on the proposed employment of coal-dust in reverberatory furnaces; yet we find that in India the charcoal used was frequently ground into dust, also the furnaces were charged from the top, as the Staffordshire blast-furnaces are now-a-days.

The ironmasters of Roman Britain appear to have worked on a very extensive scale, and seem to have made use of water-power for driving their blast or bellows, for the most extensive remains of Roman cinder-heaps are generally found by the side of streams in Britain; and both in Sussex and in the Forest of Dean remains are found of ancient tanks in such situations as to point directly to their use as reservoirs of motive power.

But the most remarkable invention for producing "blast", discovered in Roman Britain, was found at Lanchester, the ancient Epiaenum, in Durham, where an extensive ironworks existed, and where, no doubt, the arms of the two legions on the Wall were fabricated and repaired. Dr. Bruce, describing the spot, says, "The method of producing the blast necessary to smelt the metal was made apparent. Two tunnels had been formed in the side of a hill. They were wide at one extremity, but tapered off to a narrow bore at the other, where they met in a point. The mouths of the channels opened towards the west, from which quarter a prevalent wind blows in this valley, and sometimes with great violence. The blast received by them would, when the wind was high, be poured with considerable force and effect upon the smelting furnaces at the extremity of the tunnels."

Now without venturing to approach technical ground too closely, I must ask you to follow me to its confines a little while I endeavour to explain the leading changes which occurred in the iron-make in consequence of the forms of the furnaces. First we have the "air-blomery" or air-furnace on the high hill, driven by the wind as it passed through little conical holes in the sides. This must have been a painfully slow and tickle process, and the ore would become de-

oxidised, and by long-continued low heat a "cementation" of the metal would take place. There would be no fusing, no melting of the ore, no running metal or liquidification as we get from our blast-furnaces ; but the product would be a glowing mass of imperfectly malleable or wrought iron, mixed with cinders, dirt, and unreduced oxide. This lump would be drawn out of the top of the furnace, and put under heavy tilt-hammers driven by water or animal power. At each successive blow the glowing mass would acquire purity as the sparks flew from it ; the Roman forgeman would keep on turning it round, and over and over, till at last a "bloom" or block of wrought iron would result.

The first great improvement in this process would be the addition of artificial blast or bellows. This was the furnace of Roman Britain, and would be called a "blast-bloomery" in contradistinction to the "air-bloomery" which probably preceded Roman times here. The application of "blast" would offer great advantages. It would obviate the necessity of an elevated site, and render the whole process more equable and certain. Yet although the method of reduction would remain the same, the result would be very different ; for if the blast were strong enough, the iron would be melted, and a partial carbonisation taking place, a sort of Bessemer steel would result, totally useless to the Roman smith, as he could not forge it. So it became necessary to invent another process,—a primitive refining. The metal was reheated with plenty of charcoal, and the bellows-pipe being removed from the bottom of the furnace, would be put on the top, and direct the blast over the surface ; charcoal being also put on from time to time, till it was all burnt out, and the iron became tough and malleable. It is possible that the entire operation was conducted as in the Catalan forge, in one heat, or at one operation ; and all conducted in one little furnace, viz. the "blast-bloomery."

I shall, perhaps, be travelling out of the subject if I give any more processes, for to this stage only had the iron-manufactures reached amongst the ironmasters of Roman Britain ; yet a word or two on the subsequent great invention of *cast iron*, which forms the staple of our modern industry, and which the Romans had not reached, except, perhaps, incidentally.

The modern blast-furnace, such as we see in this "Black

Country," which turns out its many hundred tons of cast iron, or "pigs," a week, and sends flames and smoke to heaven, like some angry volcano in its wrath, is but the man full grown from the child, the "blast bloomery." As demand increased, the little "bloomery" waxed higher and higher, from the infantine three or four feet of the third or fourth century of Roman days to the (curious coincidence) fifteen or sixteen feet high in the sixteenth century. This is the boyhood of the blast-furnace; but now we see him forty feet high, and even more, in his swarthy pride of giant manhood. His increased height, however, had caused a great change in his capabilities, and the result is most surprising. As the ore descended from the top, through a longer length, its contact with the charcoal would be prolonged, and, a higher state of carburation ensuing, the product would be cast iron.

This new era in iron's history is supposed to date from the latter half of the sixteenth century. Mr. Mushet endeavours to fix the date of the first blast-furnace in the Forest of Dean at A.D. 1550; but he never saw a casting older than 1620. The progress then became rapid, for in the seventeenth century cast iron ordnance was exported from England. In 1783 Cort invented the puddling-furnace, which revolutionised the iron-trade and ruined its inventor. In 1824 Neilson gave the world the "hot blast," which consists of heating the air before employing it,—an invention which has trebled the make of iron with the same quantity of fuel. In 1856-7 Bessemer brought out his steel process, almost the greatest stride of all. These are the dates of the leading reigns in the kingdom of iron.

The fuel, as I have stated, was charcoal. Mineral coal was not used, as far as we know, by the Roman workers for iron. It was well known by them for other purposes. Dr. Bruce says it was found at nearly all the stations on the Roman Wall. It is not unfrequently met with in the Roman villas of Britain. The most extensive Roman coal-mine Dr. Bruce alludes to is near Sewingshields, at Grindon Lough.

Charcoal was made by the Romans in a very ingenious way, which has descended to modern times in Austria and in some other provinces of the ancient empire. A double row of strong stakes was driven into the ground, forming a species of stockade rising gradually from three feet to five feet in height. Between these were rough plankings. The

wood to be charred was then packed carefully inside, in layers across each other, and the whole covered with sand and turf ; the fire lighted at A, burnt to B, when the charcoal was ready. This system of "charring in mounds by the Romans" is thus spoken of by Osborne in his *Metallurgy* : "It is one of those inventions which a comprehensive genius finished, and left nothing to posterity but the task of explaining : it is so simple, practical, and complete, that no improvement is possible."

Having endeavoured thus briefly to give the leading facts of the make of iron by the Romans, I will proceed, in as few words as possible, to refer to the centres of industry here under the Roman government. But first I would draw your attention to the vast quantities of ironwork which seem to have been used in a Roman villa in Britain, much more than in an English modern house of similar dimensions. The amount and variety of iron keys is truly surprising, and gives one an astonishing insight into the elaborate domestic economy and housekeeping arts of our early conquerors here. Chests, caskets, cupboards, pantries, side-boards, dressers, etc., though long perished, are indicated by their locks and keys, and verily must have been a goodly array. Besides, we find door-keys and locks, and bolts and hinges ; and what is more curious, lifting latch-keys such as are now used by late bachelors in London houses ; and padlocks and cylindrical locks, and keys attached to rings to wear on the finger (though these are generally of bronze). Firedogs of handsome make, in iron, have been found, showing that fireplaces must have been partially in use in some of the apartments. In addition to the articles I have named we find numbers of hunting weapons, knives, scissors, and nails, of variety of sizes, not only used for building, but for the soles of the sandals of Roman farmers. At Chedworth villa two large masses or "blooms" of iron were found, evidently brought to the villa to be worked up ; and this is, perhaps, the explanation of the quantity of ironwork generally found. A resident smith was employed in the villa. He was always at it ; and when the repairs of locks and keys and farming implements did not keep him going, he no doubt employed his time in working out some of those ingenious little iron devices in rings and keys we find.

The chief locations of iron industry in Roman Britain

were in Sussex ; in the vast forests of Anderida, as it was then called ; and in the Forest of Dean. In Sussex, in the parishes of Westfield, Maresfield, and Sedlescombe, immense beds of cinders exist. In some places these beds are twenty feet thick, and of great extent. Roman pottery and coins are scattered thickly through them, and prove their origin (see a masterly paper in the *Collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society*, by M. A. Lower, Esq.). Small pits in the woods are now to be seen, from which the ore was extracted. But it is on the banks of the Wye that the most workings existed : indeed, there must have been the primæval “*black country*,” the dark, rich centre of smoke, noise, and industry. For many miles together the ground is formed of a continuous bed of iron cinders, of which the origin is told by the Roman coins and pottery. Here, too, the Romans sank regular shafts of no great depth, but from which they drove regular adits and levels upon the seam. Near Coleford these mines are called “*scowles*.” A great deal of the ore appears to have been worked in the neighbourhood of Worcester. But ancient Blestium (near Monmouth) and Ariconium (near Ross) must have been the Dudley and Birmingham of Roman Britain. Round these the scoriæ seem to attain their maximum, and Ariconium itself was probably a city of smiths and forgemen, surrounded by forges. About Whitchurch and Goodrich the cinders are scattered about in deep beds. Round Redbrook, in the same district, a number of furnaces must have been in blast ; and near the hill of Penallt, Mr. Wright mentions a stone-flagged road of Roman construction, going towards Chepstow, which was probably used by packhorses carrying charcoal to and from Coleford, near which place three thousand brass Roman coins were discovered a few years ago. Near Redbrook a water-mill is at work for grinding up the ancient cinders, slag, or scoriæ, into a powder which is used at Bristol for making coarse glass bottles. But a much more extensive use has been and is still made of these cinders, from which the Romans had but very imperfectly extracted the ore, leaving in some cases as much as thirty or forty per cent. for posterity. For the last three hundred years numerous blast-furnaces in the Forest of Dean have been supplied solely with Roman scoriæ, and the reworking of these ancient heaps will continue for long to be a profitable source of supply.

The present town of Alchester was called by the Romans *Alauna*, and appears to have been a Birmingham in its time. A curious legend tells us that St. Egwin went there on a missionary enterprise to convert its inhabitants ; but instead of listening to him, they raised such a clatter on their anvils that the saint indignantly retired, and invoked the curse of heaven upon these unworthy sons of Vulcan. It is right to state that the town was instantly swallowed up by an earthquake ; but not very deeply, for we find it now.

Traces of Roman ironworks are met with in various parts of Britain, especially in Northumberland and Yorkshire and South Wales ; but of all these none probably excelled Bath, the ancient *Aquæ Solis* in smith's work. Here, after the coming of Hadrian (*circa A.D. 120*), was established the great Woolwich Arsenal of the Roman armies in Britain,—the “*fabrica*,” as it was called, where the various arms and accoutrements were forged and fitted under the protecting *ægis* of the Temple of the Sun and Minerva. The very curious, well-known inscription given in Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon* (p. 367) describes a college of smiths (*collegium fabricensium*) at Bath, and relates how Julius Vitalis, a smith or armourer of the valiant and victorious twentieth legion, who was a Belgian, and who served nine years and lived twenty-nine years, was carried to burial by the said college or guild of smiths.¹ It is very well known

¹ As it is of interest to find that trade and burial-clubs existed in our country nearly eighteen hundred years ago, when, perhaps, the struggle between labour and capital was not quite so violent as it is now, it may be asked how were these primitive working-men's associations governed, and how did they conduct the funerals of their members, etc. Fortunately Dr. Kenrick has, in his *Sepulchral Inscriptions*, given us the text of the rules of one such society at Lanuvium in Italy ; and as it is but little known, even to antiquaries, I will venture to follow the Doctor in his rendering of it, Anglicised : “An amphora of good wine was to be presented by a new member (striking proclivity to the public-house even then). The sum of *fifteen shillings* was to be paid as an entrance-fee, and *eleven pence* per month as subscription. The meetings were not to take place oftener than once a month. If any one omitted payment for (certain) months, no claim could be made even though he had directed it by will. In the case of the death of one who had paid his subscriptions regularly, forty-five shillings were allotted for his funeral expenses ; out of which, however, seven shillings and six pence were to be set apart for distribution at the cremation of the body. The funeral was to be a walking one. If any one died more than twenty miles from Lanuvium, and his death was announced, three delegates from the college were to repair to the place where he had died, to perform his funeral, and render an account to the people. Fraud was punished with a fourfold fine. Three shillings were allowed to each delegate for travelling expenses, going and returning. If the death had taken place more than

that such guilds existed amongst many crafts in Roman times, and were handed down to us through the middle ages. Thus reference to a *collegium ligniferorum* was found at Castle Cary in Scotland, and a *collegium fabrorum* is mentioned in a very early Roman inscription at Chichester.¹

Whoever may have the pleasure of driving through the beautiful Forest of Dean in this nineteenth century, amidst the noble stems of well-nigh primæval oaks, will scarce believe he is passing through a land which 1,700 years ago looked as black and barren as the district between Birmingham and Wolverhampton. Where all is still and unbroken save by the voice of the thrush and the blackbird, once arose the clatter of hundreds of forges, and darkness and desolation overspread the face of what is now so green and fair. Perhaps, in the revolution of ages, some wise antiquary from New Zealand, 2,000 years hence, may wander amongst the verdant forests which cover the site of the Black Country, and may endeavour to trace the ironworks of the inhabitants of Britain in the far-off days of Victoria.

twenty miles off, and no notice had been sent, the person who had performed the funeral was to send a sealed certificate attested by seven Roman citizens, on the production of which the usual sum for expenses was to be granted." A number of rules follow: amongst others, "that no funeral of a suicide was to take place." There are also much good fellowship and order in the code; and by it we see, if not how the good smith of Roman Britain lived, at least how he was buried, like a gentleman, with much propriety without entailing cost on his "parish." And such was the end of Julius Vitalis, the smith of Bath.

¹ For an account of this inscription, and references to the various authorities who have treated of it, see *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. vii, pp. 61-63, and vol. viii, p. 24. Muratori, in his *Novus Thesaurus Veterum Incriptionum*, gives an inscription mentioning a *collegium anulariorum* at Rome, two of a *collegium fabrorum* at Gubbio and Tarento, and a *collegium ligniferorum* at St. Koloza in Hungary.

ON HOUR-GLASSES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

IN our *Journal* for the year 1848 (iii, p. 301) appeared a paper by the late Mr. Fairholt, "On Pulpit Hour-Glasses;" and in our *Journal* for 1856 (xii, p. 265) a description of the iron stand and bracket of an hour-glass formerly fixed to the old pulpit of Otford Church, Kent. On January 24, 1866, the Rev. E. Jackson laid before us a sketch of a remarkable hour-glass stand from Easthope Church, near Wenlock, Salop; the date, 1662, being curiously arranged to form a crest-ornament; and the glass itself is stated to be the original one, which, if correct, renders the relic of special interest. These, I believe, are the only notices of sand-glasses and their stands to be found in our pages, and I therefore venture to reopen the subject by calling attention to a few examples of these primitive chronometers, and their curious and not unfrequently elegant supports.

Wood, in his *Curiosities of Clocks and Watches* (p. 13), states, but without giving his authority, that sand-glasses "were called *clepsammia*, and were in use before the days of Jerome (A.D. 331-420)."¹ We have no record of who invented the sand-glass, nor of the time nor place of its invention; but if the horologe held by Morpheus in the bas-relief in the Mattei Palace at Rome, representing the marriage of Thetis and Peleus, really be a *clepsydra*, or water-clock, as Winckelman in his *Monumenti Inediti* says it is, it must have been the archetype not only in principle but *contour* of the sand-glass of later ages. It consists of an upper and lower bulb united at their necks by a fillet or collar, and held in a frame or mount formed of two discs fixed on the ends of three (perhaps four) slender rods or pillars, by which the machine could be conveniently reversed when the contents of one vessel had descended into the other.

An interesting representation of the mediæval hour-glass may be seen in the famous picture of St. Jerome taking the thorn from the lion's foot, executed by Antonio del Fiore in

¹ This statement is probably derived from Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, p. 220, ed. 1650.

the year 1436. The vessels are rather globose in shape; the upper and under discs or roundels of the mount being of substantial thickness, and supported by four straight pillars. This painting is copied into D'Agincourt's *History of Art by its Monuments* (iii, Pl. 132); in which work (Pl. 79) may also be found an hour-glass of the close of the fifteenth century, introduced as an ornament in one of the arabesque borders of a Breviary once belonging to Matthias Corvinas, King of Hungary, who died in 1487. In this instance the receptacles for the sand are of a conical form, with a collar round their united points, and having a flat ended mount, of which five straight uprights are shown. On the reverse of medals struck in the years 1556 and 1568 in honour of Vigilius Zuichemus [van Zuichem ab Ayta], President of the Council of State of Mechlin, appears an hour-glass, the frame of which has square ends with a spiral pillar at each angle.

I do not remember the discovery of any portion of a sand-glass referable to the classic eras; and even mediæval examples are of extreme rarity, although a goodly number of their frames, or mounts, and stands have survived the wreck of time; more particularly those stands of iron that were wont to be attached to the side of the pulpit to hold the horologe which guided the preacher in the length of his discourse, and the cost of which in the year 1564 is learnt from the following entry in the churchwardens' book belonging to St. Katherine's, Christ Church, Aldgate: "Paid for an hour-glass that hangeth by the pulpitt when the preacher doth make a sermon, that he may know how the hour passeth away, one shilling." The general idea is that such things as pulpit hour-glasses were unknown in the Anglican Church until the era of the Reformation; but I strongly suspect, from portions of iron stands that have come to my notice, that they were used at least as early as the fifteenth century. In the Museum of Scottish Antiquaries at Edinburgh is the iron stand of the hour-glass from St. Magnus' Cathedral, Kirkwall, Orkney, which has every appearance of having been wrought before the year 1500. This stand is about four inches and a half high, the top being a broad hoop secured to four upright bars bent at right angles at their bases, and crossed upon each other to form the rest for the glass. Between each upright is a boldly designed

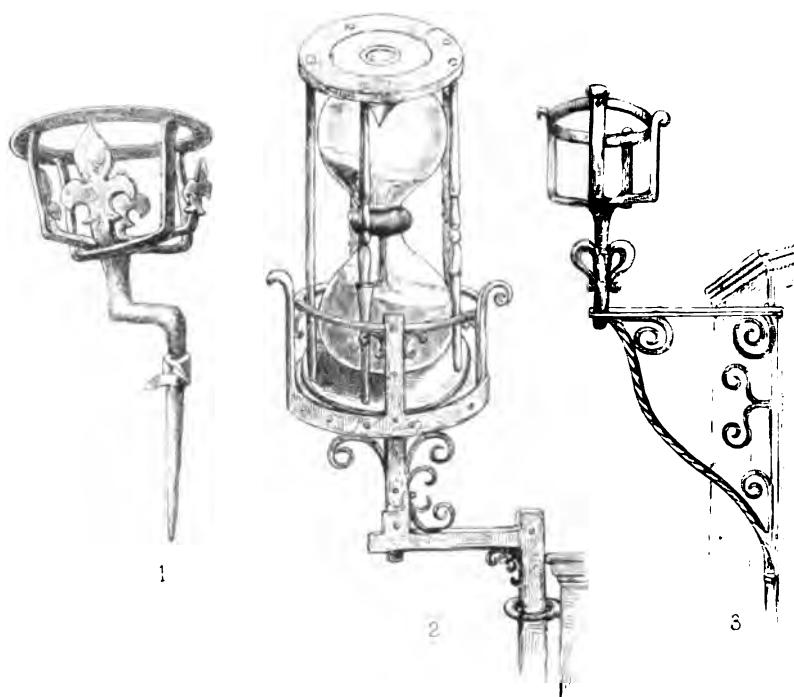
fleur-de-lys, the stem of each being bent across the other bars, and the whole fixed upon a shaft which is straight for a short distance, then bent horizontally, and again descends in a perpendicular line, for the purpose, probably, of dropping into a socket. (See Plate 4, fig. 1.)

During the extensive excavations made at Queenhithe, Upper Thames Street, in 1867, a vast number of ancient relics were brought to light, one being a fleur-de-lys of iron, measuring three inches and three quarters in height, and full four inches in width, which I make no doubt once adorned the side of an hour-glass stand of similar *contour* to that formerly in the Cathedral of St. Magnus, and which probably belonged to St. Michael's Church, which stood hard by, and was destroyed in the Fire of London. The Rev. S. M. Mayhew has kindly added this curious fragment of ecclesiastical furniture to my collection.

At the present day the only pulpit hour-glass and stand to be seen *in situ* in London, are in the church of St. Alban, Wood Street, Cheapside, and of which engravings are given in the *Gent. Mag.*, 1822 (Part II, p. 300), and our own *Journal* (iii, p. 304). We gather from the parish records, *sub anno* 1685, that among the brass-work presented to the church by Mr. Thomas Wadeson, parish clerk, was "a stand for the hour-glass." I believe that the horologe itself, or rather its brazen frame, is many years older than its stand, for there is much in its general aspect which speaks of the early part of the seventeenth century. This ornate frame is not of the usual cylindrical form, but square, either end consisting of four arches supported by round pillars. The spandrels are occupied by figures of angels blowing trumpets, the crowns of the arches with cherubs' heads, and the cornices composed of an alternation of crosses patée and fleurs-de-lys, in the style of a regal diadem. But it is unnecessary to dwell further on this truly elegant object, as it has already received notice in our pages; but we cannot quit it without observing that there is no collar round the middle of the glass.

In our *Journal* (iii, p. 304) is a woodcut of the hour-glass stand in Flixton Church, Suffolk; and Mr. Watling has obligingly sent me an outline of a stand and glass formerly used in Creeting All Saints' Church, in the same county, and which was taken down some ninety years since, and is now

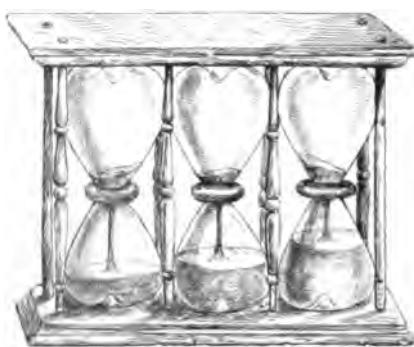




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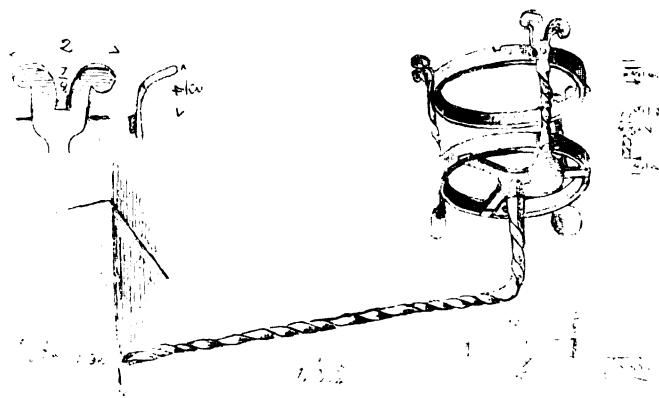


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in the possession of an old lady residing at Stonham. The frame of this horologe is made of a single plain, upright bar, and four baluster-shaped ones fixed into roundels of wood. The collar round the neck of the glass is of wood painted black. The iron stand at Flixton is square at top; the one under consideration is circular, the side-bars rising in volutes above the hoop. The stand rests on an ornamental ancon or bracket bent in a shoulder, in the manner of the one which belonged to St. Magnus' Cathedral; and I suspect that this Suffolk stand is little less in age than the Orcadian one. (See Pl. 4, fig. 2.)

Mr. Watling has also furnished me with a sketch of the hour-glass stand still to be seen in Odell Church, Bedfordshire. The top, as usual, is a circle riveted to four upright bars bent and crossed at bottom for the glass to rest on. The perpendicular stem, decorated with four graceful loops, rises from a light and well designed bracket attached to the side of the pulpit. There is little about this stand to indicate its date, but we may presume that it was wrought towards the end of the sixteenth century. (See Pl. 4, fig. 3.)

There still remains in the church of Hammoon on the Stour, Dorset, an hour-glass stand of unpretending design, but yet an interesting piece of ironwork of the sixteenth century. It is composed of an upper and lower hoop held together by three perpendicular bars with cleft and spreading tops and disc-shaped bases, the bottom of the stand being fixed on the upturned point of the bracket, which is one foot two inches and three-quarters in length. Mr. J. T. Irvine has kindly sent for exhibition an etching of this stand and of the quaint old church wherein it is preserved.

In Barents' *Voyage to Nova Zembla*, in 1596, mention is made of a great sand-glass running twelve hours. "A two-hour glass" is noted in the *Catalogue* of Boulter's Museum at Yarmouth. In an inventory of the goods and implements belonging to the church of All Saints, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, taken *circa* 1632, we read of "one whole hour-glasse" and "one halfe-hour-glasse"; and I have now to direct attention to a trio of chronometers comprising the hour, half-hour, and quarter-hour glasses, placed in a row within a wooden frame consisting of an oblong top and bottom, with four turned pillars on each side, the collars round the several vessels being of leather painted black. This highly curious group

was found in the ancient chest belonging to the church of Earl Stonham, Suffolk, and for a sketch of which my thanks are due to Mr. Watling. (See Pl. 4, fig. 4.)

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew has kindly lent me for exhibition an interesting seventeenth century example of a half-hour glass which was probably designed for pulpit use. The oaken frame is eight inches and a quarter in height; the ends being octangular, and held together by four uprights. The collar between the bulbs is composed of plaited twine.

Shakspere, in the *Merchant of Venice* (act i, scene 1), makes mention of "the sandy hour-glass"; and in the play of *Henry V*, the Chorus, in his opening address, speaks of

"Jumping o'er times;
Turning the accomplishment of many years
Into an hour-glass."

The philosophic Bacon says that "in sickness the time will seem longer without a clock or hour-glass than with it, for the mind doth value every moment." Francis Quarles tells us in his *Feast for Worms*,

"Man's life 's an hour-glass, which being run,
Concludes that hour of joy, and so is done."

And in Dryden's *Spanish Fryer* (iii, 2), Torrismond, when speaking of the poor imprisoned King, exclaims,

"Shake not his hour-glass when his hasty sand
Is ebbing to the last."

Many more citations might be made from authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in proof that the sand-glass was then a familiar object: indeed, there is no question that until the introduction of Dutch clocks, about the middle of the seventeenth century, it did duty as a time-piece in many a dwelling.

The receptacles for the sand differed, of course, little in form, but their frames presented a diversity of fashions. Among the contributions to the Loan Collection at South Kensington in 1862, the catalogue (p. 689) describes No. 7853 as an "hour-glass mounted in gilt metal, the surface richly chased, and a dial with a movable rayed pointer engraved at top and bottom. Italian. Sixteenth century. Height, three inches and a quarter." The frames of sand-glasses in use during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods

had frequently spiral columns, whilst in earlier and later times they were more or less swelling in their centres. One hour-glass of the reign of Charles II has its pillars wreathed in a fanciful style with silks of divers hues.

Mr. Watling has sent me a sketch of a venerable horologe in a plain substantial wooden frame, seven inches in height and three inches and a half in diameter at top and bottom ; each of these members consisting of a hoop traversed by a cross, on which the bulbs of the vessel rest ; a broad, full collar surrounding the middle of the glass. The five uprights are somewhat fusiformed, and the whole thing has an air of age and gravity about it.

For the last hundred and more years the hour-glass in ordinary use had a wooden frame of the plainest description, two turned roundels of wood for top and bottom, with from four to six unadorned uprights, constituting the unpretending structure. The example I exhibit is six inches in height, has five uprights, and was in use during the last century. Just such a sand-glass as this stood beside a human skull in the "Hermit's Cell" in the corner of the paved yard of the house of the famous Joshua Brookes, Blenheim Street, Great Marlborough Street.

There are good reasons for believing that ere pocket-watches were in fashion, it was the practice with the learned to carry the sand-glass about with them. When a child I was shown an engraving of an hour-glass subscribed "*Horologium D. Mart. Lutheri*," of which I made a tracing, but have never seen the book from which the print was torn. I knew not on what authority it is attributed to the great Reformer ; but it is undoubtedly a very curious affair, and is represented in a cylindrical case (perhaps of *cuir-bouilli*) with foliated decorations, and which has a door on one side moving on two hinges ; and when closed, secured by a staple and pin. Fixed within this door is a dial with the hours inscribed in Arabic numerals, and provided with a single hand. There are two little pipes on each side of the case, threaded by a cord, by which the chronometer could be suspended to the girdle in the manner the inkhorn and penner, Bible and Prayer Book, and knife-case, were wont to be carried in olden times. (See Pl. 4, fig. 5.)

The following is extracted from Wood's *Curiosities of Clocks and Watches*, p. 244 : "The fellows of colleges and

other learned men, in the age of Elizabeth, contented themselves with carrying sand-glasses in their hands. This appears from Aubrey's amusing *Memoirs*; and a tragical misadventure, in which a portable sand-glass makes a very prominent figure, is related in the manuscript diary of the Rev. James Melville to have happened in 1589 at St. Andrew's, where an assault was made by one of the partisans of Archbishop Adamson on William Wallwood, Professor of Laws, who, "going from his house in the town to the college, his gown on, his book in the one hand, and sand-glass in the other, meditating on his lesson, Henry Hamilton issues out of a house where he lay in wait for blood, and on besetting Mr. William, with the first stroke wounds him in the hand and mutilates."

The old fashion of carrying about the sand-glass was not quite obsolete in Scotland as late as the second half of last century, as is shown by the subjoined passage from Chambers' *Traditions of Edinburgh*: "In Dr. Cullen's time it was the custom of physicians to use a sand-glass instead of a watch in counting the pulses of their patients. I have seen the sand-glass which Dr. Cullen used to carry about with him in his large skirt-pocket. It is twice as large as the common kitchen sand-glasses of modern times, and resembles in shape the uncouth chronometers which are so prevalent upon old gravestones. Considering it valuable as a memorial of former customs, and still more so as a relic of the illustrious Cullen, I exerted myself in obtaining it from the hands of a private individual, and it is now in the possession of one who can well appreciate its value—Sir Walter Scott."

The old pulse-glass is now exceedingly rare; but I saw one a short time since, evidently made in the seventeenth century; the frame or mount being about five inches in height, consisting of two roundels of wood with three turned uprights painted black. These "short-time" sand-glasses no doubt led to the construction of the egg-boilers, which serve in a small degree to keep in memory the primitive hour-glass.

It is somewhat strange, that common as the hour-glass once was, so little use seems to have been made of it as a trader's sign. I can find but two publichouses in London to which it has given name: one at No. 8, Trafalgar Row,

Walworth Common ; the other at No. 89, Upper Thames Street, near All Hallows' Church, where it is carved in wood, of gigantic size. Its form is also shown on the brazen beer-tickets of Calvert and Co.'s Brewery, struck in 1855.

The hour-glass is accepted as an heraldic charge, as, for instance, in the arms of White of Middlesex and Stafford. It is one of the attributes of Mary Magdalene. The sculptor has chiselled it on many a sepulchral monument, and artist and poet have for ages placed it in the hands of Death and hoary Chronos as an emblem of our fleeting lives : hence Sir Thomas More makes Time declare, in *The Nine Paeauntes* :

"I whom thou seest with horyloge in hande,
Am named Tyme, the lord of every howre."

Longfellow says, with as much beauty as of truth :

"A handful of red sand from the hot clime
Of Arab deserts brought,
Within this glass becomes the spy of Time,
The minister of thought."

And as the ebbing sand warned the preacher of old to close his sermon, so does it warn the present writer to terminate his perhaps somewhat tedious discourse, and in no fitter way can this be done than with the solemn and pathetic lines addressed by the late John M'Creery to an hour-glass :

"Mark the golden grains that pass
Brightly through this channel'd glass,
Measuring by their ceaseless fall
Heaven's most precious gift to all !
Busy, till its sand be done,
See the shining current run ;
But th' allotted numbers shed,
Another hour of life hath fled.
Its task perform'd, its travail past,
Like mortal man it rests at last.
Yet let some hand invert its frame,
And all its powers return the same ;
Whilst any golden grains remain
'T will work its little hour again.
But who shall turn the glass for man
When all his golden grains have run ?
Who shall collect his scatter'd sand,
Dispers'd by Time's unsparing hand ?
Never can one grain be found,
Howe'er we anxious search around."

ON ODINISM IN SCANDINAVIA, DENMARK, AND BRITAIN.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, ESQ.

THE uses, origin, and chronology of cromlechs, dolmens, menhirs, and stone circles, have been the subject of various theories and opinions by learned members of this Association and other archæologists during many years past ; but up to this time the fact that many, at least, of these ancient relics were intimately connected with Odinism, or the religion of Odin, which prevailed in Scandinavia during not less than seven hundred and fifty years, and probably much longer, and during many hundred years in this country, has not, as it appears to me, been sufficiently dwelt upon. I propose, first, to take a survey of the country on the soil of which Odinism especially flourished, with a sketch of its natural features ; and to review the chronology of Odin, referring to some of the existing relics of his religion in Scandinavia and Denmark ; and will then endeavour to trace the same religious system nearer home, in some of those burial-mounds and stone skeletons so well known to us, where Odin's warriors rested who fell in battle, and where the seats of the gods were supposed to be.

Scythia, the home of Odinism, is a term sufficiently vague. The northern writers call the old Scythia the abode of the gods (*Godsheim*). We will not now discuss its boundaries. The other Scythia, Suecia or Sweden, the abode of men (*Mannheim*), was not a country such as the poet Ovid described as the remotest Scythia, when, an exile on the shores of the Euxine Sea, he looked towards the icy north :

“ *Est locus extremis Scythiae glacialis in oris,
Triste solum, sterilis, sine fruge, sine arbore tellus ;
Frigus iners illic habitant, Pallorque, Tremorque,
Et jejuna Fames ;* ”

(*Metamorph.* viii, v. 789 et seq.)

for the ocean which washes the northern coast of Scandinavia is warmed by the current running up there from the tropical seas, and which so modifies the cold in Norway that

corn will grow there up to the latitude of 69° and 70°, whereas in Siberia agriculture ceases at 60°. Fruits ripen well in the more southern parts of the country, maturing quickly from the great heat of the sun. The extreme rise and fall of the quicksilver makes a difference of 110° between the greatest heat and the greatest cold at the same place, so that corn is sown and cut in six or seven weeks. (See Coxe's *Travels in Norway*, Pinkerton, vol. vi.) Such a country is not altogether inhospitable and cheerless. The industry of man is amply repaid by the produce of the soil; but in an age when the country was more covered with wood than it now is, and the tract under cultivation, therefore, limited, the wants of the winter had to be provided for by other means than the growth of their home-harvests: hence raids upon the neighbouring coasts, freebooting in the summer to guard against a famine in the winter.

The breakwater of rocks innumerable cropping up out of the sea along the western coast formed a natural barrier against enemies from without; the fiords or forths which run up inland, in some cases 200 miles, were safe refuges for the fleets of the northern sea-kings. The country was therefore safe within itself, and was the prolific mother of swarms of hardy nations. Jornandes calls it "officina gentium aut certe velut vagina nationum" (*De Getarum Origine*, c. 4).

The *Voluspa*,¹ or the "Sybil's Prophecy," edited by Sœmund, who lived A.D. 1057 to 1133, and the *Edda*² by Snorre, son of Sturla, A.D. 1178 to 1241, have preserved to us the old traditions and mythology of Norway. They are taken from the songs of the skallids or bards, and perhaps from the ritual of Odin's priests, though such a source of information would hardly be acknowledged by a Christian ecclesiastic. When Sœmund published his earlier *Edda* Odinism had barely ceased to exist, and many among the natives of both countries must have been brought up in its tenets and have clung to its traditions. These authors must

¹ From *þovla*, "design of the gods", and *spa*, "a prophecy" (in Icelandic.)

² The word has been variously derived from—1, the Latin *edo*, "to utter or publish"; 2, the Greek *τηθη*, "a nurse"; 3, the Norse word *edda*, signifying "a great grandmother"; 4, a proper name, *Edda*, perhaps the same as *Hetha*, an Amazon skilled in mythological writings; 5, the Anglo-Saxon word *eðe*, signifying "a collection", may spring from the same root. See P. J. Resenius in *Pref. ad Eddam*.

be our guides for the first occupation of Scandinavia by Odin and his Asæ or nobles (of heavenly birth) who must be historical personages, whether or not this Odin is to be identified with the Decœneus or Coeneus, spoken of by Strabo and Jornandes, who obtained great authority with Byrebistes, king of the Getæ, and brought under his influence many northern nations.

Though ranked among the gods and worshipped as such, he and his chosen band must have been living men upon earth, who came across the plains or up the great rivers of Russia, those highways to the north of Europe from the Black and Caspian Seas to the Baltic, along which many swarms of nations before Odin's time had travelled. He is described as having occupied on his journey a city called Asgard (City of the Asæ), which may be a real or figurative city only. He and his Asæ possessed metal and fabricated tools,² they had the knowledge of written characters ; they were brave and fought with the Vans ;³ they were skilful horsemen, they arrived in Saxony, and then migrated into another country called at that time Reidgotolandia (Jutland)⁴ and Odin appointed his son Skiolld (or the Shield) to reign over it, of whom was born Freidleifus,⁵ whose posterity were the Skiolldunger, from whom descended the kings of Denmark. In Sweden Odin reigned as Niordus, who is called the first king, but Snorre (*Ynglinga Saga*, c. iv) calls him one of the Vans appointed by the Asæ to be chief of the sacrifices, and called out of Noatun to be king of Sweden, or more properly Diar or Drottnar, god, priest, and judge, the then title of Niordus and his race. He was the father of Yngvo, who succeeded him, and was the father of the race of the Ynglingi who reigned at Upsala, a town built at a short distance from Sigtuna, the city first founded by Odin and made his capital. It was somewhat to the north of the modern Stockholm, and near the picturesque Mälar lake, studded with its 1,400 islands, of all sizes, which break the vast expanse of its waters.⁶

To his son Scemingus Odin destined the kingdom of Norway, and proceeded northward to take possession of that

¹ The names of the Asæ are given as follow : 1, Yggur or Odin ; 2, Thor ; 3, Yngve ; 4, Freyr ; 5, Vidar ; 6, Balldur ; 7, Thyr ; 8, Niordur ; 9, Brage ; 10, Hodur ; 11, Forsete ; 12, Loke.

² *Voluspa*, v. 7. ³ *Snorre Ynglinga Saga*, cap. vii. ⁴ *Id.*, c. v. ⁵ *Edda in Proleg.*, c. 3. ⁶ *Edda in Prol.*, c. iii.

country till the ocean barred his further progress. From Sœmingus descended the kings of Norway and many earls, barons and other nobles, and these intermarrying with the natives, the language of Odin and his Asæ was naturalized in all the northern countries. No rational chronology can be deduced from the Eddas beyond what Snorre asserts, that Odin fled before Pompey and the Romans. The genealogical table, however, Langfedgatall, one of the oldest Icelandic documents, gives twenty-nine kings in succession from Niordus to Harold Haarfagre, and in Denmark through Frode to Ragnar Lodbrog it gives twenty-three kings (see Langebek, *Script. Rer. Dan.*, vol. i), and our Anglo-Saxons on quite different and independent authority derive their descent from Odin or Woden through Bœldeg by twenty-two kings to Ethelwulf. In this way we might place Odin in the third century of the Christian era, a date which Mr. Turner (*Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i, book 3, c. 2), seems satisfied with, but Torfœus, who displays much research on this subject, places Odin's arrival in the north in about 70 B.C. (*Series Dynastarum et Regum Daniae, Hafniæ*, 1702, p. 113).

Such an emigration from Asia would be probable at the period when Pompey was clearing the Mediterranean sea of the Cilician and other pirates, otherwise called heroes or sea-kings ; they would be driven to seek fresh fields for their adventures. The breaking up, too, of the kingdoms which had been founded by the successors of Alexander the Great, and especially the overthrow of Mithridates by the Romans and the religious activity then prevalent in Asia would favour the hypothesis of the earlier date. At the same time the third century of the Christian era would also very well agree with the great social revolution in Persia, by which the Parthian dynasty was overturned and Ardshir or Artaxerxes, son of Sassan, a common soldier, was placed upon the throne of Persia, which happened in the reign of the Roman emperor, Alexander Severus, A.D. 226, *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, vol. i, c. viii (or A.D. 223 in *l'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, vol. iii).

The ancient religion of Zoroaster (who in the Edda is described as one of the seventy-two builders of the Tower of Babel) was then restored in its purity, and when we read of 80,000 magi with their head Archimagus assembling

at Balck in Khorasan to settle the standard of orthodoxy, we can estimate the power of such a priesthood to send out missions and stamp their creed upon savage nations.

The joke practised upon Gylvus, a native king of Sweden, is the first practical piece of magic performed by Odin.¹ This Gylvus, captivated by the charms of a foreign lady of the family of the Asæ, who had no equal in singing, presented her with so much land in his kingdom as four bulls could plough up in a day and a night. Her name was Gefion, and she brought out of northerly Jutenheim four bulls. She yoked them to a plough, the share of which was so hard and so deep that the earth which the bulls turned over towards the south into the sea formed a large tract of land, where Gefion located herself and gave it the name of Sæland, and where the furrow was made in Sweden a bay and lake were formed. Thus Gylvus, though also himself a magician, was unable to withstand the superior charms of this nightingale, who settled down in Sweden, and he could not but admire the singular good fortune of the Asæ, to whose will and at whose nod all things seemed to submit; he reflected within himself whether this could be due to the nature of the Asæ themselves, or whether it must be ascribed to the goodness and power of the gods whom they worshipped (*Edda*, Fab. 2).

Odin is called Val-Föder (Father of Slaughter, *val* being a heap of slain), because his sons are all chosen from those falling in battle, whom he receives to himself in Valhalla and Vingolf, where they are then called Einheriar or Mono-heroes (Fab. 18).

When on earth he also practised the arts of peace as successfully as those of war. He is said in the *Edda* (Fab. 34) to have required no other food than wine to carry him through his labours, and to have used extraordinary means of obtaining information. Two ravens sat upon his shoulders and whispered to him all the news of the day. The one was called Hugin (mind), the other Munim (memory), and he sent them out daily to fly all over the world and return home to him with the news about dinner time. Hence he was called Hrafnaugud (Raven's god).

Odin's warriors must have been altogether irresistible when the fierce madness came upon them called Berserks-

¹ *Edda*, fab. 1.

gang, which made them rush on the enemy like wolves, biting their shields and carrying everything before them ; and Odin's magic gave him a somewhat unfair advantage over his mortal foes, for he could make them blind, or deaf, or panic-stricken, and could render their swords supple as willow-withies (Snorre, *Ynglinga Saga*).

He and his Asæ had probably placed themselves at the head of one or more of the tribes of the great Gothic nation, that people who "Alexander the Great had said were to be avoided, whom Pyrrhus had feared and Cæsar shuddered at." (*Isidori Hispalensis Chronicon*).

All the traditions of Scandinavia indicate an eastern origin. The chain or ring armour worn by the northmen was not unlike that of the Persians, and similar ringed mail is still in use by the Circassians, and some other nations of the east. (See the article "On Ring and Chain Armour" by H. Syer Cuming, Esq., in *Journal*, vol. viii, p. 354.)

The letters or runes said to have been introduced by Odin and used throughout the northern countries consisted first of sixteen letters only, the prototypes of many of which can be traced in the old Greek alphabet of Ionia and the cuneiform writing of Assyria. The runes used in Helsingaland differ from the others, having more of the cuneiform character, and may have been introduced at an earlier period by previous migrations.

The custom of burning the bodies of the dead and depositing the ashes in urns appears to have prevailed throughout Sweden, Norway, and Denmark since the age of Odin. Snorre applies the name of Bruna-Olld (age of burning) and Haug's-Olld (age of tombs) to the periods of time when these two modes of interment prevailed, but as they appear to have often co-existed at the same time such a classification must be used with caution as a clue to the chronology.

In the three mounds examined at Jaegerspriis by command of Prince Frederick in 1776, bones of the bodies buried entire were found at a greater depth than the urns of burnt ashes, therefore the former must be presumed to be the most ancient, and probably dated before the time of Odin.

In these tombs, one of which contained seven chambers or crypts, were discovered flint instruments, and some of copper, but no iron, whence it is concluded that iron was

not then in use. (Introduction to vol. ii. of Snorre's *Heimskringla*, by G. Schöning).

The body of Odin after death was burnt on a funeral pile with much pomp, and it was considered that the higher the smoke mounted to heaven so much the more splendid would be the future state among the gods of him from whose funeral pile it proceeded, and with whom the largest amount of valuables was burnt at the same time. The reverence which the nations in question paid to the memory of their ancestors was part of their religion, and the sacred circles of stones set in order round and about the burial mounds, of which so many exist *in situ* verified by names and dates, are speaking witnesses of this fact.

The stones were arranged to commemorate battle-fields, and some will have it that they represented as it were the lines of contending armies, or perhaps the position on the field of individual braves, but the regularity of their location seems rather to point to a more conventional and pre-conceived plan than this would indicate.

One of the best examples of such a memorial is that on the field of Braavalla-hed, where the battle was fought between Harold Hildetand (tooth of war) of Denmark and Sigurd king of Sweden, where 30,000 nobles of the former nation and 12,000 of the latter are said to have fallen.

The present appearance of the stones on the battle-field is given in a drawing by Olaus Wormius and by Dr. James Fergusson (*Rude Stone Monuments, &c.*), who says the circles are generally twenty to forty feet in diameter.

The old king Harold was buried with his horse at Lethra in Seeland, where his tomb is still to be seen. These are monuments of the eighth century of our era.

Dr. Fergusson describes two groups of circles and Bauta stones near Hwitaby in Malmo, erected in the same century. "They are said to mark two battle-fields, in which Ragnar Lodbrok gained victories. These groups are much less extensive than those of Braavalla, but are so similar that they cannot be distant from them in age" (Page 291.)

"On a spot of land in the island of Freyrsö, off the entrance of the Drontheim Fiord, in the year 958, Hakon, son of Harald Harfagar, overthrew his nephews, the sons of Erik Blodoxe, in three battles; the first and second of these are marked by cairns and mounds; and the third by

eight large barrows, three of which are in that shape known in Scandinavia as ship barrows, and measure from 100 to 140 feet in length." (*Ibid.*)

Among the tumuli Dr. Fergusson (p. 295) describes the triple group at Upsala, popularly known as the graves of Thor, Odin, and Freya. That of Odin was opened in 1846; he says, "the workmanship of the gold ornaments found in it, according to Herr Hildebrand, closely resembles that of the gold bracelets of the fifth or sixth centuries."

He describes one tumulus (p. 310) near Uby, in the district of Holbak in Seeland, opened in 1845, which measured then 13 feet in height, and had a circumference of upwards of 300 feet. The chamber measured 13 feet by 8 feet, and was walled in by nine great stones, the entrance gallery is 20 feet in length, and is closed, or capable of being so, by two doors."

It is not easy to determine the dates of the sepulchral and other remains where there are no inscriptions on the stones, and imagination may carry them back to any remote period of pre-historic time; but Liljigren has counted up no less than 2,038 of these stones in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark bearing Runic inscriptions by which they may be identified, the greater part of which are in Norway, in the upland country. (See Peter Erasmus Müller in preface to *Hist. Danica. of Saxo-Grammaticus*, Hafniæ, 1839.)

The Celtic population generally get the credit of setting up the large stone monuments, and the Cimbri in Denmark and Norway may have been the first builders of cromlechs. Odin's invasion does not seem so much the influx of a whole nation as the assumption of power and command by a warrior, a satrap, and a priest, with his chosen companions, who had knowledge, civilisation, and valour, assisted by a sufficient force of fighting men. By these means they attained to power over the whole kingdom, and were able to drill the natives into an army of soldiers, imposing their religion and language not only upon them but upon the Franks and the nations round the coasts of the Baltic. Odinism certainly succeeded in imposing some kind of religious discipline upon a nation of soldiers, just as Mahometanism did elsewhere at a later period; a religion which extolled blood and slaughter as the highest of virtues, and which admitted the brave only to the joys of heaven. The mounds over the

pile of slain were figuratively Odin's Valhalla, and the principal of them must have been the scene of sacred rites of which we have some indications. It may not be drawing too much upon the imagination to picture the cavalcade of Odin's mounted Amazons riding upon some religious occasion through the avenues of stones which often form the approach to these mounds into the enclosure, in imitation of the "Valkyriur," who in the *Edda* are represented as scampering over the battle-fields and introducing Odin's heroes into the Valhalla. The Greek female personages, the *κῆπες*, or goddesses of death or doom, had similar attributes assigned them on the field of battle.

Within the enclosure, carefully divided off by stones (like the religious *τέμενος* of the Greeks) the privilege of sanctuary was accorded to criminals or enemies who might fly thither for refuge, and by which many a wretch or unfortunate was saved who had no other chance of escape in those blood-thirsty times. The gods themselves were powerless to avenge the slaughter of Balder on account of the sanctity of the place where he was killed. (Edda, Fab. 43).

The ash-tree, called *Ygdrasil*, is described (Fab. 14) as standing near the seats of the gods and reaching to heaven, fit emblem as supplying the ashen spears to the warriors, to stand at the entrance of the Val memorial. Of the ash-tree of Odin many wonders are told; a certain eagle deeply versed in lore is perched upon its boughs, and between the eyes of the eagle sits a hawk. A squirrel also runs up and down the tree carrying the word of envy between the eagle and the serpent. The hawk or falcon fitly represents the craving rapacity and boldness of Odin's warriors, and such birds have always been associated with battle-fields, but I am inclined to think the eagle to have been more peculiarly the emblem of Thor, specially worshipped in Norway; and probably the old Thunderer was at the head of the ancient Theogony before the arrival of Odin, just as in the Greek religion Saturn reigned before Jupiter, who supplanted him, and, as the poets very plainly put it, kicked his father out of heaven.

Olaus Wormius (*Monumenta Danica*) describes the great temple of Odin at Upsala, and a large tree near it, its branches spreading far and wide and green both in summer and winter. Our yew trees planted at the entrance of

churchyards may have had their origin in the Ygdrasil when the Christians adopted many of the old customs. The monolith of rough stone became squared or rounded off, surmounted with a cross and carved with rude images of the vanquished demons.

Olaus also notices the juxtaposition of burial mounds and Christian churches. He says, "Prope sepulchra regum Ethnicorum tempa a Christianis successoribus sunt extorta ut monumenta essent defunctorum ; sed quia grandes istos sepulchrorum tumulos ex terra aggestos in tempa convertere non potuerunt, prope vel juxta illos aedes Christo dictas posuerunt, ut cernere licet Jellingiae in Cimbria, Horleviae in Selandia et passim alibi." (*Mon. Dan.*, p. 5).

Of the sacrifices we are told they took place on three grand occasions ; at the beginning of winter, for the propitious approach of the new year ; in mid-winter, for the supply of food to last out the season ; and in summer, for victory. (*Ynglinga Saga*, c. 8).

Again, Olaus says in the month of January every ninth year grand sacrifices took place near Lethra, where ninety-nine men and as many horses with dogs and cocks for the hawks were offered up. (On the authority of Dithmar, *Epis. Mersburgensis, Chron.*, *Lit.* 1, p. 12).

Contributions by a poll-tax were paid throughout Sweden to Odin to pay for the sacrifices to secure immunity from the enemy and cheap corn. (*Ynglinga Saga*, c. 8).

If we accept the date of 70 B.C. for the introduction of Odinism into Scandinavia, we have a duration for this religion of over 1,000 years up to the time when a Christian church supplanted the temple and crowned the holy hill of Viborg in Jutland, the head quarters of Odinism and of the national assemblies there. Upsala in Sweden ceased to be the seat of royalty when Olave, the cradle-king, converted to Christianity, had to remove his residence elsewhere, because he could not conform to the time-hallowed rites which it devolved upon him to preside over, and to which the people held tenaciously, but Odin yielded at last to the efforts of king Steinkell and his clergy.

In Norway, that stronghold of the old religion, the great statue of Thor with his mallet, and covered with ornaments of gold and silver, in the temple at Mæria in Drontheim, yielded to the stroke of Olave, son of Tryggva, who over-

turned it (Snorre Olave T. S. *Saga I.*, p. 76), but it required all the zeal of his successor, Olave the Fat, to outroot the native religion, and he had to use the convincing arguments then prevalent of cutting off noses and limbs, and putting out eyes before he could defeat the augurs, magi, and enchanters, “*quorum præstigiis et miraculis infelices animæ ludibrio habentur.*” (*Chron. Dan. incerti auctoris apud Langebek II.*)

The cathedral church at Drontheim on the Nid soon asserted the supremacy of the Christian religion ; dedicated to S. Clement 1016 to 1030, it attracted pilgrims in a few years from all parts to the shrine of Saint Olave. Through the long series of years I have referred to, many changes must have taken place in the practice as well as the creed of Odinism. The worship once paid only in the open air to the majesty of the heavenly bodies, the powers of nature, and the heroes of antiquity, came in later times to be practised in buildings and to images made with hands. The temples of the heathens are referred to by Gregory the Great, who recommended them to be used where practicable for Christian worship ; and the early round Christian churches, of which there are many specimens in the island of Bornholm and elsewhere, may have been planned in the shape of Odin's circles of stones of the earlier period, or may have been used for his temples in the later.

Battle-field memorials continued to be erected as late as the twelfth century, of which Dr. Fergusson gives several examples.

Before leaving Odinism, it is, however, due to it to say that valour and personal bravery were not the only virtues it inculcated. We have a book, called the *Haavamaal or Sublime Proverbs of Odin*, which is a portion, and all that remains to us, of the older Eddas of Sæmund, author of the *Voluspa* ; they indicate a state of society in which the dangers to human life by fire, sword, and famine stand out prominently. Hospitality was practised as a necessity and inculcated as a duty. The difficulty in obtaining a sufficiency of food at some seasons was made up for at others by immoderate feasting and potations of mead, particularly at the Yule season, and many of the proverbs are directed to correct such abuses and encourage mental discipline and exertion.

The Eddas are a curious medley of history, metaphysics, and mythology ; but to treat upon all these subjects would be beyond the scope of this paper. The study of archæology and history tends more and more to bring out the historical value of the Eddas, and a modern French writer so concisely points out their worth that I may be allowed to transcribe his words :—

“Quand une littérature a un caractère fortement prononcé et peignant des mœurs constantes, il faut qu'elle ait ses racines dans la vie réelle ; et d'ailleurs ce que l'histoire éclaircit dans ces traditions incomplètes suffirait pour ne point faire rejeter légèrement celles dont la valeur historique nous échappe.” (*Revolutions des Peuples du Nord*, par J. M. Chopin, vol. i.)

Proceeding now to trace the vestiges of Odinism in our own country, we cannot but be struck with the analogy of its progress and gradual extinction in Britain as in Scandinavia, though the occupation of Britain by the Romans and consequent depression of this religion during their stay, and its extinction in the Saxon kingdoms at an earlier period here than in Scandinavia rendered the circumstances in the two countries not altogether identical. I propose first to offer some remarks upon the history, then to refer to the rites and ceremonics of Odinism in the British Isles, and, lastly, to point out some of the tumuli and stone relics which illustrate both these branches of the subject.

In Scandinavia an immigration took place ; the old Celtic population without being destroyed was gradually blended with the new comers, and together they formed one nation and one language ; after a time, fresh ideas and the Christian religion were working their way from the south, but the mountaineers and inhabitants of the northern districts were the last to give way to the new order of things ; so in these islands the north of Britain and the western coasts and islands were the parts where the old religion longest lingered, and where the people had much in common with the northern districts of Scandinavia.

It may be argued that the Gaelic of the Scottish highlands, of Wales, of Cornwall, and of Ireland are distinct languages, and that the old Scandinavian tongue differed from them all, yet they may be traced as dialects of a common origin. The Gothic element was infused into the

Celtic in various proportions, but the varieties which existed in the idioms did not prevent the inhabitants of the northern nations from understanding each other's speech, which was noticed by Rodericus Toletanus, who though writing as late as the thirteenth century, had made their history his study, "Teutonia, Norvegia, Svecia, Flandria et Anglia unicam habent linguam, licet idiomatibus dignoscantur."

In the times of Tacitus, the *Æsthai* even, dwelling quite at the extremity of the Baltic in Estonia, spoke a language resembling the British tongue. (*Germania* xlv.)

In later times, during the reign of Magnus, King of Norway, we read of a Norwegian bringing up one Giffard, a Celt, before the local authorities in England for publishing a libel against him in verse when they were at sea together, and both the verse and pleadings seem to have been perfectly understood by the subjects of the two nations. (A. Bussæus in *Vita Ari Polyhistoris*).

That the early Goths or old Saxons, north of the Elbe, were much identified with the Celtic nations is apparent, and we do not find that marked distinction made between the two races by the Scandinavian writers, which is maintained by many British antiquaries.

The southern parts of Sweden retain to this day the name of Gothland, eastern and western, which implies that these were more especially Gothic at one time, and that the rest of the country was inhabited by the other and earlier races, but this does not disprove the fusion of the languages and nations into one. When the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles invaded England, they came from the land where the Gothic stock was predominant, but where the Celtic Cimbri, once a great and prosperous nation had long dwelt, and the manner in which the Saxon kingdoms were established in Britain appears to have been far less violent than some writers would make it appear; the intercourse between Britons and Saxons and Norwegians may be conjectured to have existed in a greater or less degree since the days of Carausius, and who can say how long before written history begins.

At the beginning of the fifth century, as soon as the Romans had taken their farewell, "the two leaders Guanius and Melga had issued forth from the ships in which they had fled over into Ireland, and with their bands of Scots, Picts, Norwegians, Dacians, and others seized upon all Al-

bania (Scotland) to the very wall." (*Geoffrey of Monmouth*, book 6, c. 3.)

Snorre mentions an early king of Norway, Ivar Vidfadme by name, who he says occupied a fifth part of the British Isles, but gives no further details. (*Yngl. Saga*, c. xlv.)

Bede mentions that in A.D. 429 Saint German led an army "wet with baptism" against the Saxons and Picts, and by firing three volleys of Hallelujahs, which resounded from hill to hill put the enemy to flight. (*Bede Op. Hist.*, c. xx, 45). This was at Mold in Flintshire. The military details of the battle are certainly meagre, but here is mention of Saxons fighting in alliance with the Picts twenty years before the invasion of Hengist.

It will be useful to review the religious aspect of the British nation at the time of the recorded Saxon invasion. First we have the old Celtic element with its various phases of Druidism or Odinism; then the Romanised Britons, some of whom probably blended the worship of pagan Rome with that of Bel and Odin; thirdly, the Christians, who seem to have been divided into several parties; those for instance who derived their inspiration from Constantinople and the Syrian priesthood, and some who were imbued with the opinions of Pelagius and other preachers; whilst a strong party was striving to consolidate a uniformity in religion according to the views of our Gallic neighbours, and was in close communion with the pontifex maximus at Rome. The pontiff there, who though still holding the most submissive language to his master the Emperor at Constantinople, found himself carried away more and more by the success of his missionaries, whose zeal outstripped even his own, into an absolute leadership of the Christian world in the west. These struggling elements of discord were put into a high state of fermentation by the establishment of the Saxons in the island, who though followers of Odin or Woden were much civilised by their intermixture with continental Goths, and it is probable that Christianity in its Arian form had been partially introduced among them; their Christianity, however, seems to have been of a doubtful kind, and neither the wisdom of the serpent nor the gentleness of the dove were congenial to a people whose religion taught them to admire the rapacity of the hawk and the courage of the eagle, and who believed that to die fighting on the battle-

field was the only means of admission to heaven. One Helgi, a Norwegian, is a type of a semi-christianised north-erner striving to serve his two masters, and of which other examples are to be found in Witichindus and Sigeburthus Gemblacensis, and in the *Landnama Saga*. This Helgi having been baptised in his cradle, was in the habit of adoring Christ when safe on shore, but he offered up his prayers to Thor when at sea or on occasions of difficulty and danger. (Bussæus, note to *Ara Frode de Islandia*, cap. ii.)

The old religion of the Britons is represented in the person of Vortigern, called by the Welsh *Gwrtheyrn*, and by the Saxons *Wyrtgeorn*. Ambrosius, called the king of the Britons by the Christian writers, was the champion of the missionaries under Gallic influence, and Hengist was Woden's great general. He and Horsa arrived with only three ships, and their whole force could not exceed 300 men. They are called "duces" by Bede,¹ translated by Alfred into "Latteowas and Heretogan," rulers and generals. (Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, i, p. 266).

After settling affairs in Kent we hear of them in a compromise with the Picts and Scots at Stamford in Lincolnshire, and in the seventh year after their landing they fought a battle at Aylesford on the Medway, where Horsa lost his life, but the kingdom of Kent was thenceforward secured, and as no events of importance are mentioned in that kingdom for more than a century and a half, and it was transmitted peaceably from father to son, we may suppose it must have been founded and maintained by the moral support of the people. Ella with his three sons landed in Sussex and founded the kingdom of the South Saxons in A.D. 477; in the same way Cerdic in A.D. 495, landed and maintained his footing in Hampshire, but only after twenty-four years succeeded in permanently establishing the kingdom of Wessex, which implies the bringing over the people gradually to submit contentedly to their new rulers. Some bloody battles were fought in the west, but there is no proof of the annihilation of the native population, or anything to show they were not ready to place themselves under strong and vigorous leaders, who were better able to conduct them to

¹ Just as the companions of Odin were called "Asser" (lords, godlike, or of noble birth). This word has been translated "Asse" in the Latin, but it has nothing to do with their Asiatic origin.

victory than their own native rulers, who were always at war with each other.

The Angles and Saxons on the eastern coasts appear to have planted their kingdoms with more difficulty and fighting. It is not easy to get at the truth, but the sympathy of the Britons in religion and traditions with the Saxons seems to have been the real cause of the success of this people in obtaining a permanent footing. Bede is forced to admit the fact, but without recognising the cause, which he says was a famine in the land which caused "many to join hands with the Saxon robbers to their own eternal infamy in the eyes of posterity." (*Op. Hist.*, xiv, 33.) Hengist was the hero of his day. Vortigern, called by Geoffrey of Monmouth "consul of the Gewissens", was distrusted by the different parties of Christians and Old Britons, and was losing the confidence of all. The Picts and other northerners, as well as the pagan Britons, suspected him of treachery to the old faith, while the Christians equally accused him of preserving his power by an alliance with the Saxons, cemented by his marriage with Rowena, the daughter of Hengist. William of Malmesbury says that while he lived nothing was attempted against them. (*De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, p. 9.) His son Vortimer appears to have been won over by the Christian party, by whom he was put forward as their champion, and his death is deplored as "the end both of victory and hope to the Britons." (*Henry of Huntingdon*, book ii.)

Vortigern, after being superseded, was again restored to command as king or chief, and had to confront Ambrosius, who came over with an army from Brittany. The account which Geoffrey of Monmouth gives of these transactions, though confused, is intelligible, if we consider the spirit in which he wrote and the times for which he was writing. He says that Hengist raised a large army, and gives an account of the assassination of four hundred and sixty English barons and consuls, who had been invited to a feast, and were assassinated in the midst of the carousal, and that they were buried not far from Kaercaradane, now Salisbury. He says they bound Vortigern and demanded his cities and fortified places, who denied them nothing they asked. The Saxons marched first to London, which they took, as they did afterwards York, Lincoln, and Winchester. Vortigern retired into the

parts of Cambria, not knowing what to do against so barbarous an enemy. (*Geoffrey of Monmouth*, c. 16. A. Thompson's translation, 1718.) He was killed by fire, according to Nennius, and the earth swallowed him up according to Bede; the former author, however, ingenuously adds that others have told the story differently. (*Hist. Brittonum*, 47.) Geoffrey says that Hengist raised an army of three hundred thousand men. Now, if he even raised one-tenth, or even a twentieth part of that number, they must have been of the native population, and he did not require to assassinate the British nobles. The assassination story seems highly improbable, but the English barons may very well have become "sworn brothers" over their mead with their Saxon entertainers, "*Nimed eure Saxes*," "unsheathe your swords," was the cry. (*Nennius*, c. 48.) This was quite compatible with the custom they had of drawing blood to cement a treaty of peace and friendship.¹ Hengist had a successful career of many years after this event, until in the end Eldol of Gloucester, of the party of Ambrosius, captured and caused him to be beheaded at Caer Conan, in the West Riding of Yorkshire (Conyngsborough), *Matth. Westm.*² The tables were then turned; Octa, son of Hengist, with Eosa his kinsman, had to make his retreat with a great body of men to the city of Alclud (Dumbarton in Scotland) where he settled the affairs of the district, showing thereby how the communication was kept up between the Britons and Saxons when no difference of religion made them enemies. (See *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, c. 6.)

Ambrosius ordered that Hengist should be buried, and a heap of earth raised over his body according to the custom of the Pagans. A convent was established at Caer Caradoc on the mountain of Ambrius (*ibid.*, c. 9) near Stonehenge. We will proceed to examine this account of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who is looked upon as a romancer, and certainly we must not accept to the letter his account of the mission of Uther Pendragon to bring over, with the assistance of Merlin the astrologer from Killaraus, a mountain of Ireland, the great circle of stones, there called the Giant's Dance, and

¹ See Pomp. Mela, lib. ii, c. 1-110, as to this custom among the Scythians.

² He died a natural death according to others, worn out by the fatigues and anxieties of a laborious life.

which were brought over accordingly by magic and set up on Salisbury Plain in commemoration of the 460 British nobles murdered there. After this Eopa, a Saxon, went disguised in the habit of a monk to Winchester and there poisoned Ambrosius, who was himself buried in the Giant's Dance.

By weighing these facts together we shall be able to reconcile Geoffrey's statement with probability and with history. When his party had become triumphant it was necessary to convert the great monument of Odinism into a Christian memorial. He accordingly buries Ambrose there, but merely says that Hengist was buried in a mound after the manner of the Pagans. It would be more credible that Hengist, after the manner of his country and religion, should have erected this great Walhalla to Woden and to the memory of the men who had died fighting in the cause before he established his supremacy, which he did most effectually after the affair of the feast, according to Geoffrey's own statement, and he would make an effort to do honour to the religion now so seriously threatened and to strike the nation with awe of the Saxon power. To remove such large stones required the energy of a Hengist, and the tackle, ropes, ships, and appliances of a nation of sailors like the Saxons. They would be more likely to erect such a monument than the Britons of that period, or their ancient predecessors, and they had a good reason for so doing.

The Danish king Harold, who in after times ruled over the country once occupied by Hengist and his Saxons, employed his whole army and much cattle in conveying a stone of enormous mass to set up over the tomb of his mother. (*Wormius, Mon. Dan.* 39.) After this follow the exploits of Arthur, who is dressed up in so many disguises by the romancers of a later age that it is difficult to recognise in their hero the simple "dux Brittonum" in plain clothes. The Saxon kingdoms gradually became Christianised during the seventh century, after the systematic organisation introduced by Augustine.

The supremacy attained by the Christian religion is in itself a standing miracle patent to all who read history, and requires none of the marvels of a Geoffrey of Monmouth to set it off, nor can they add anything to the merits of the

earnest and active men who were instrumental in extending Christianity. The early monasteries appear to have been places of assembly for the Christian bishops and priests and to have been considered as the head quarters of the church militant in their districts. For instance, at Bangor, eight miles from Chester, we find no less than two thousand ecclesiastics dwelling in the monastery there, of whom a great part were slaughtered by Ethelfrith in 607 or 612, because he knew this was the enemy's camp.

We have very few records of Woden's priests, as the chroniclers pass them over in silence; but we are told by Bede that the Londoners at the end of the sixth century rejected Archbishop Mellitus, delighting to serve their own idolatrous priests. (*Hist. Eccles.* ii, 6.)

Saxon England at the end of the seventh century is shown in an article by Mr. Gordon Hills in the *Journal* (vol. xxiv, p. 360), wherein are laid down on a map the churches and monasteries named by Bede as existing in his time. The state of the country presents some analogy with that of Denmark three hundred years later under Harald Blaatand, or Blue Tooth, at the end of the tenth century. The large kingdom of Mercia and the kingdom of the South Saxons had recently been converted, so that all Saxon England was now Christian, at least as to the religion of its rulers. The rest of the British Isles still retained Odinism, and fraternised with the Norwegians, who helped their co-religionists in the common cause, as they had done before. As far south as Cornwall we find them uniting with the Cornishmen and making a treaty with them when Beorthricus, or Brihtric, was king towards the close of the eighth century, and in 806 a fleet arrived, which encouraged the Cornish to rebel against Egbert, and a great battle was fought between the Britons and the West Saxons at Gabulford (Camelford) in Cornwall (*Saxon Chron.* 824 or 825), where many thousands fell on each side. In 876, the Danes wintered at Exeter, in the reign of King Alfred.

"The Britons of Cumberland had also put themselves under the protection of the Danes and submitted not to the Saxons till the time of Edward the elder, son of Alfred the Great. At length a formidable confederacy was formed against King Athelstan in favour of Anlaff, in which the Irish, Scots, Welsh, Danes, and Cornish united, but in vain.

Athelstan first overthrew the forces of the north, where the allied forces lost Constantine, King of Scotland, six Irish or Welsh kings, and twelve earls and general officers ; he then marched against the Cornish Britons, who had assisted the confederates, and took Exeter (which before they had inhabited upon equal terms with the Saxons) from them entirely." (Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 44.)

It is not to be wondered at that Alfred should take so deep an interest in obtaining information about the native land of these enemies who were surrounding him on all sides, as to fit out an exploring expedition under Ohther, a Norwegian, and Wolfstan, an Englishman, to visit the coasts of Norway. Their narration of the voyage, written by themselves in Anglo-Saxon, gives a valuable account of Scandinavia and the shores of the Baltic in the ninth century. (*Periplus Ohtheri ab A. Bussæo. Harniæ*, 1733.)

Alfred, the Christian prince, when he invited Rollo out of France, was deserted by the nation, and Hastings, a sea-king, was allowed for three years to run over the land. This could only be possible from the religious feeling of the natives, and their antipathy to anything like an alliance with the Frankish Christians.

Our Athelstan educated Haco, the future King of Norway, which caused Christianity to re-act upon that country, and it became supreme there, when Olave the Fat and his bishop Grimkell carried it with a high hand and caused his white standard, bearing the figure of a serpent, to beat down the famous standard of the raven of Odin, and he scrupled not to punish with death any priest of Odin who might resist his authority. (Snorre, *Olave Saga*, xlvi.) King Olave made particular inquiries of his bard Sighvatus, an Icelander, about the state of the Christian religion in the countries beyond sea ruled by the Norwegians,¹ Iceland, the Faroe Islands, the Orkney and Shetland Isles (he might have added the Isle of Man) and what was told him

¹ Iceland preserved its independence till A.D. 1264, when it was annexed to the Norwegian crown. Faroe Islands derive their name from *faar*, the old Scandinavian word for sheep. Of the group of thirty-five islands, seventeen are large. The Orkney Islands are a group of sixty-seven islands, of which about thirty are inhabited. Near Kirkwall, the capital, are the celebrated "Standing Stones of Stennes." The Shetland Islands are still called by the inhabitants by their old name, "Hjaltland." They are eighty-six in number, of which about half are inhabited. (See Murray's *Handbook of Denmark, N. and S.* 1871.)

showed that affairs there at the end of the tenth century left much to be desired. He was particularly scandalised at the inhabitants eating horseflesh, exposing infants, and practising heathen rites and perverse old customs, which were an offence to the Christian religion.

Ireland in the middle of the ninth century was in possession of the Norwegians, who had a good base of operations in Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, and they retained their influence there during a century and a half.¹ When the northmen had embraced Christianity, they visited our coasts under new combinations, which do not belong to the subject-matter of this paper, restricted as it is to the progress and decline of Odinism. We will, therefore, now turn to the comparison of the rites and religion of the Druids, and see how far these appear to be identical with those of Odinism in Scandinavia and Britain, making due allowance for changes which might occur in them during the lapse of time between the first and the last accounts handed down to us.

The notices we have of Druidism in Gaul and Britain from the Greek and Roman writers, though not very ample, yet are more satisfactory than the scanty allusions by our own chroniclers to the priests of Woden in Saxon times. These latter had the misfortune to live in that epoch which was either smothered in cobwebs or totally suppressed, and they were never rescued from oblivion by the later writers who reconstructed the history of those times. The notices of the Druids by Cæsar, Diodorus, Mela, Strabo, Tacitus, Pliny, Lucan, Ammianus Marcellinus, and others, are too well known to require more than a passing reference to them. Cicero learnt from his friend Divitiacus, the *Æduan*, who was a Druid, their proficiency in physiology and divination, and in the same sentence wherein he tells us this, he refers to the practices in these arts by the *Magi* among the Persians, as if he associated in his mind Druidism with the Persian rites ; he says also that no one was qualified to be

¹ Mr. J. Just gives evidence of the long occupation of Lancashire by the Danes (see *Journal*, ix, p. 109) ; and the find of coins discovered in 1840 near Cuerdale in Lancashire, affords some clue to the intercourse of the inhabitants of those parts with other nations in the ninth century. The money is supposed to have been coined between the years 815 and 930. The coins consisted of 1 Byzantine, 7 Arabic, some of North Italy, 1,000 French, 2,800 Anglo-Saxon, 3,000 Danish. (J. A. Worsaae, *Danes and Norwegians in England*.)

King of Persia who had not first learnt the doctrine and science of the Magi. (*De Divinatione*, i, 41.) That Magus in the Persian language had the meaning of Sacerdos in his own we have the authority of Apuleius, and he says the religion of the Magi is what Plato calls *θεῶν θεραπεία*. (*De Magia*, xxv, 450.) Our word Druid may only be the Romanised form of the Gothic or Saxon *Dryhter*, Lord or Master. The influence of these priests was so great, that they were able to interfere between contending armies and prevent the proposed onset. (*Diodorus*, book v.) What Cæsar says of them and the Celtic Gauls savours much of the Odinism of five centuries later; they believe in the celestial supremacy of Jove (Thor), and that Mars (Woden) ruled the wars. To the latter god was sacrificed, after a victory, the captured cattle. In many states the booty taken might be seen piled up in heaps in their consecrated places, and it seldom happened that any one, in defiance of his religious duty, kept back any part or stole any of that which had been brought together. (*B. G.*, vi, 17.) Their funerals were sumptuous, considering the civilisation of the Gauls, and they threw into the fire anything which would be prized by the living; animals also, and dependants who were loved by the deceased, were burned together (*ibid.*, c. 19). Pomponius Mela gives a similar account, and adds, that to render men readier for wars they taught that souls were eternal and would live again in the nether world. (*Lib. iii*, c. ii, 25 *et seq.*) Then he says that a debtor and creditor account of their money matters was sent after the dead to the world below, and there were many who would gladly immolate themselves with the deceased, in order that they might all live together afterwards. These descriptions would be equally applicable to Odinism as before described on the authority of the Eddas, though nothing was said in them about old debts being revived in a new life; and as the poor are usually more numerous than the rich we may suppose this came to be considered a doubtful benefit to the departed, particularly since Julius Cæsar's friends had discovered and put into practice their invention of "*tabulae novæ*," as the new and improved mode of settling old debts. Pliny says that Britain was so strong in religious ceremonies that she might be thought to have taught them to the Persians. (*Hist. Nat.*, lib. xxx, c. 1.)

They were so repugnant to the customs of the Romans that Augustus prohibited Druidism in Gaul to Roman citizens, and Claudius abolished it altogether. (Suetonius in *Vitæ Cl. Cæs.* lib. v.)

When Paulinus forced its stronghold in Anglesey, and cut down the sacred groves there, the Romans believed they had swept this religion away for ever, but it was still destined to run a course of nearly a thousand years before the last Britons would be brought to abandon it. Pliny gives more details of its rites than other authors. He says the Druids held men bound by the triple chain of medicine, religion, and mathematical science. (Lib. xxx, 1.) He describes the reaping of the mistletoe¹ with a golden sickle by the priest clad in white, who gets up into the tree after the feasts and sacrifices have been duly performed under it. Two white bulls were led up, whose horns had never yet been bound with the chaplet for any other altar. These sacred rites were pronounced an antidote against poison and every other evil.

The gathering of a plant called "Selago" without using steel is also another imposing ceremony to be gone through by the white-clad priest with washed and naked feet who first was to offer up a sacrifice of bread and wine. (Lib. xvi, 95.) Another herb, the "samolus," was to be carefully gathered and pounded in the channels or receptacles for water, where the pigs and oxen were brought to be cured of diseases.²

The "ovum anguinum," or snake's egg, about which so much has been said, seems to have been one of the many charms or amulets of the Druids, and there is much proba-

¹ In the woods of Norwood, consisting wholly of oaks, where in 1646 the inhabitants of Croydon had "mastage for swine without stint", was a remarkable tree called "The Vicar's Oak", where five parishes meet in a point. Either on this tree or some other grew some mistletoe, which Aubrey says "some were so hardy as to cut for the gain of selling it to the apothecaries of London; but one of them fell lame, and the others lost an eye. At length, in 1678, a certain man, though warned against it, cut the tree down, and he soon after brake his leg." He then gives another instance of the Earl of Winchelsea, who, having felled a curious grove of oaks, soon after found his Countess dead in her bed suddenly; and his eldest son, the Lord Maidstone, was killed at sea by a cannon bullet. (*Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. xiv. 1813.)

² Geoffrey of Monmouth says there was not one stone of Stonehenge which had not some healing virtue, and the water washed over the stones was efficacious in healing the sick and curing wounds. Perhaps the magnetic properties of many stones first gave rise to the idea of their sanctity. The mutual attraction of iron and the loadstone was noticed by Claudian, who, by a happy poetic imagery, likened it to the equally mysterious magnetism interchanged between Mars and Venus. (Claudian, *Eidyll V.*)

bility that the oval glass variegated objects known as Druid amulets were made in imitation of or as a substitute for the "ovum anguinum," and used as tokens or credentials by messengers from one country or nation to another, as we cannot but suppose that the ramification of the Druidical system was far spread, secret, and diplomatic. We have repeated instances of tokens sent about as credentials from one satrap to another in Norway. (Snorre, *Saga af Olaf Helga*, xlivi.) Sir R. Colt Hoare (*Ancient Wiltshire*, p. 119) mentions one found at Winterbourn Stoke—"a large glass bead having two circular lines of opaque sky-blue and white, which seem to represent a serpent entwined round a centre which is perforated. This is one of the Glain Neidyr of the Britons, derived from Glain, which is pure and holy, and Neidyr, a snake."¹ (See coloured engraving of many of these beads in the *Archæologia*, S. A., xxxiv, p. 46.)

The Druids had the faculty ascribed to them which has been revived in our own times, of holding conversations with the spirits of the departed. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, Lib. xxx.) We may recall the large figures of wicker-work² which were set up and burned with the human sufferers or devotees who were enclosed within them, according to the description given by Cæsar, and the colossal figures of hay or reeds as described by Strabo. Even these have their counterpart in the religion of Odin. The twelve Ase of the Voluspa, with Odin as their chief, are represented as sitting on their lofty seats, and their effigies of colossal size may have figured in the ceremonial. The following line is repeated no less than four times in that poem:—"Then all the gods and the most holy magi occupied their judgment seats." (*Voluspa*, v. 6.)

In the *Edda* of Snorre, Gylvus is introduced to Walhalla, and among the other seats three were placed separately, of which one stood higher than the others, and he saw one man sitting upon each; he who sat on the lowest seat was king

¹ It is not impossible that the eggs, tinted, and with devices painted upon them, which are sent about as gifts at Easter by Christians, even up to our own times, may be the modern representatives of the *ovum anguinum*.

² If the statement of Cæsar were not so positively given, we might be inclined to believe that the wicker figures, instead of enclosing human victims, were burnt as a substitute for them, just as the thirty men of straw were precipitated annually into the Tiber from the Sublician Bridge by the Vestal virgins. (Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 622 et seq.)

and called Haar (the sublime), the one above was Jafu (the lofty one), and he on the highest seat Thridie.

Meat and drink were free to Gylvus as to all others in Walhalla, whose base is washed by a fountain. Under the ash tree Ygdrasil the gods hold their judicial meetings, whither the Asæ go up on horseback over the bridge Bifrost. Odin is also described as sitting on a throne called Hlidstialff (gate of trembling), from which he surveys all the world. He holds a mallet called Miolner, and puts on the belt of courage, Meingnigiarder, which gives him double strength, and iron gauntlets to be able to grasp the mallet.

In the Isle of Man, three miles from Peele, is an artificial mount covered with turf, which is called Tin-Wald (from *Ting* an assembly and *Wæl* the pile of slain). It is surrounded by a ditch and earthen rampart. The entrance to this area was through some upright stone jambs covered with transverse imposts; most of those imposts are now down. (Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*.) Even to this day once a year a grand court is held on Tin Wald mount, where all new acts are publicly read and thenceforth become binding on the people. (*Beauties of England and Wales*, 1802, vol. 3, p. 266.)

One of the Asæ was Balldur,¹ from whom the Saxons were proud to claim their descent. He is called the wisest of all the Asæ, the most eloquent, the kindest; brightness shines from his face, so that a certain very white herb is compared to his eyebrow (Balldurs brá). His history is a singular one. He had a dream that he should be killed, and signifying this to the Asæ, Frigga bound by oath fire, water, iron, all metals, stones, earth, trees, animals, birds, poisons, and worms, that none should cause the death of Balldur; but Loke, who seems to bear some resemblance to the evil principle of the Persians, finds out that the mistletoe has never been bound by this oath, a plant growing on the western side of Walhalla. Loke seizes the plant and enters the sacred enclosure where the gods to do honour to Balldur were casting their spears at him, knowing they would fall down harmlessly. Blind Hoder is there, whom Loke urges to cast a missile at Balldur like the others; he arms him with the mistletoe² and directs his aim. The

¹ Baldersby, in Yorkshire, preserves to this day the record of his name.

² It would be difficult to find a plant less adapted for a missile, unless we

missile is sent with precision and force, and kills poor Balldur, who is burned on the funeral pile together with his horse. The Asæ sent his brother after him to hell, mounted on Odin's own eight-footed horse Sleipner. He soon leaps over a five-barred gate and finds himself face to face with dame Hela, who tells him the only way to get back Balldur is to induce everything in all the world, animate and inanimate, to shed tears for his death, but if any one refused Hela would hold her own. Balldur sent back by Hoder to Odin a memorial ring ; Nanna, his wife, sent Frigga an amber necklace. The end of the story was that the Asæ sent all over the world to request everything animate and inanimate to shed tears for Balldur, which they did most copiously when the thaw came after the frost, but Tock, who was Loke, said the tears he would shed would be dry ones and that hell might hold her own. He therefore was the cause that Balldur could never be recovered. Loke after this had to run away and the Asæ were in pursuit of him ; he changed himself into a salmon, but they fished him out and Thor caught him up by the tail, which is the reason that fish tapers off so towards that extremity. His punishment followed ; he was bound in a cave in iron chains, and Skate placed a viper over him to drop poison into his mouth, but his faithful wife Signia held a saucer to catch the dropping poison, and when this was full every drop which fell into his mouth caused writhings and contortions which shook the earth to its centre.

I have given this story at some length as having reference to Balldur, the reputed progenitor of the Saxon nations, and which may have influenced some at least of the rites and ceremonies at the funeral mound. I will now give some account of these ceremonies as preserved to us by Snorre. (*Hakonar Saga*, xvi.) When the sacrifices were to be performed, all the citizens assembled together at the temple, each bringing with him sufficient meat and beer for himself for use during the festivities. For this purpose cattle of all kinds as well as horses were slaughtered. The blood of these victims is received in vessels called *Hlautboller*, and

suppose the language to be figurative, and that the berries of the mistletoe, being possessed of medicinal or poisonous qualities, were used to envenom the barbs of the lance or arrow, or to mix in the cup of an enemy. Uther Pendragon and Ambrosius both lost their lives by poison at the hands of the Saxons, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth.

kled with brushes called *Hlaut-teinar* over all the altars and pedestals of the gods, the walls of the temples inside and out, and even the men. The food and savoury meats were to be cooked. The chief promoter of the feast consecrated the goblets and all the food used for the sacrifices. Then came the toasts, ending with that to the memory of departed relatives.

When Hakon the Good, being a Christian, was compelled against his will to preside over the sacrifices, he refused to sit on the throne provided for the king and ate his food apart with his own friends, at which the people could not conceal their indignation that he did not join in the popular festival, and prudence compelled him at last to take his seat on the throne. When it came to drinking to Odin, he made the sign of the cross on the goblet, and Earl Sigurd, who was the great champion of the old religion, asked him what he meant. He evaded the difficulty by saying he only signed the mallet of Thor on his cup ; but when it came to eating horse-flesh, and he would only let his mouth touch the handle of the dish after he had carefully kept off the fumes and the grease with a napkin, the king must have parted on as bad terms with his subjects as they with him.

Let us now pass to some of the monuments of Odinism which remain. But first I will call attention to the early Christian pillars or crosses which supplanted the rude stone memorials of the dead, and which are found in great abundance on the coasts of Scotland, the northern islands, the Isle of Man, Ireland, and the western coasts of England and Wales. Mr. Stewart, in his *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, has figured many of them, and they present similar characteristics, a shaft ornamented with interlaced wicker pattern, with animals and flowers, surmounted by a cross in the Greek form, often in the later specimens fixed on by an iron cramp. (See *Journal*, xv, p. 63.) There are sometimes Runic inscriptions, and on many are engraved articles of domestic or figurative import, such as a design in the form of the letter Z, supposed to represent a sceptre or *lituus*, whilst another takes the shape of *fibulæ* connected by lines which appear together to form a breast-plate, emblems probably of the sacerdotal power, whilst the double-toothed comb and oval mirror would seem to imply that the departed had brought himself or herself within the cus-

toms of civilised life. We read of Harald of the beautiful hair, King of Norway, taking to Christianity and to the combing of his hair, which he did in A.D. 890 for the first time in ten years. (Snorre, *Haralds Saga*, xxiii.) The fish, an early Christian emblem, is also found inscribed on some of these stones. Bishop Wilson, in his concise account of the Isle of Man (cited in *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. iii, p. 286), says "there is perhaps no country in which more Runic inscriptions are to be met with, particularly on funeral monuments. The inscriptions are generally upon one edge of the stones, and upon both sides are crosses and embellishments of men on horseback or in arms, stags, dogs, birds, and other devices."

Leaving the Isle of Manannan the Druid, I may refer to the cross of Nevern, Haverfordwest, figured in the *Journal*, i, p. 145, one example out of many in Wales and Cornwall, and proceeding backwards in time we come to a very early stone memorial mentioned by Thomas Pennant (in his *Tour in Wales*, 1770), called the Pillar of Eliseg, a quarter of a mile up Vale Crucis near Llangollen. "It is a round column, perhaps one of the most ancient of any British inscribed pillars now existing. The pillar never had been a cross. It was a memorial of the dead, an improvement on the rude columns of Druidical times, and cut into form and surrounded with an inscription. It stood on a great tumulus, perhaps always environed with wood (as the mount is at present) according to the custom of the most ancient times. It is said that the stone when completed was 12 feet high. It is now reduced to 6 feet 8 inches. The remainder of the capital is 18 inches long. It stood infixed in a square pedestal still lying in the mount; the breadth of which is 5 feet 3 inches, the thickness 18 inches. The beginning of the inscription gives us nearly the time of its erection: 'Concenn filius Cateli, Cateli filius Brocmail, Brocmail filius Eliseg, Eliseg filius Cuvillaine, Concenn itaque pronepos Eliseg edificavit hunc lapidem proavo suo Eliseg.' This Concenn or Congenn was the grandson of Brocmail Yscithroe, the same who was defeated in 607 at the battle of Chester. The letters on the stone were copied by Mr. Edward Llwyd; the inscription is now illegible, but from the copy taken by that great antiquary the alphabet nearly resembles one of those in use in the sixth century." The

engraved figure shows a column of the Byzantine type, with capital, such as we used to designate Saxon.

The relics of Odinism itself are the tumuli and stones surrounding them to mark out the sacred enclosure, the rude stone pillars, the cromlechs and galleries about which there has been so much discussion in the learned world, turf altars, rock basins, and race-courses. Of all these we have excellent examples, which have been so well described in the pages of the *Journal* by the pens of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Messrs. Bateman, Lukis, Phené, Thurnam, Wright and others, that I shall merely select some to illustrate my subject and offer a few observations upon them.

In Kent we have the cromlech called Kit's Coty-house ; another in the valley of the White-horse in Berkshire ; two circles and carn at Hill-green, near Stanmore, in the same county.

The circle of Rowldrich (from *Rhol*, a circle, and *Drwyg*, Druid) stands upon high ground in the north-west part of Oxfordshire, where the counties of Oxford, Warwick, and Gloucester meet. The diameter of the outward circle of Stonehenge and this circle at Rowldrich are exactly equal, 105 feet. (*Celtic Druids*, by Godfrey Higgins, p. 37, in description of plates.) A large tumulus on the Cane estate near Dorchester, more than 90 feet in diameter and 16 feet in height, is described in *Journal*, vol. iii, p. 51.

There are nine stone circles near Winterborne Abbas, Dorsetshire, the stones of which are from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ up to 6 feet in height, diameter of the circles 27 and $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet. In Nottinghamshire we have a group described in *Journal*, vol. viii, p. 185. In Cornwall the remains of Druidism or Odinism are very numerous, and they are minutely described by Dr. Borlase in his work on the antiquities of his county. He says (p. 116): "In the hill of Karnbre we find rock basins, circles, stones erect, remains of cromlechs, cairns, a grove of oaks, a cave and an enclosure, not of military but religious kind, and there are evidences sufficient of its having been a place of religious worship." Of holocaust altars he says, "we have some, I think, still remaining in the highest parts of the parish Gullval, built somewhat like a barrow, but plain and even on the surface, raised about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground, and about 20 feet diameter." "In the tenement of Kerris (parish of Paul) there is an oval

enclosure ; it is about 52 paces from north to south and 34 wide from east to west. At the southern termination stand four rude pillars about 8 feet high, at the foot of which lie some large long stones, which I am apt to think did formerly rest upon these pillars designed to distinguish and dignify the entrance. It is at present called the Roundago" (p. 187). He mentions also a cluster of circles called the monument of Botallek. In Gloucestershire we have a tumulus between Avening and Chavenage (*Journal*, iv, p. 50), many remains through Ireland, Wales, and Anglesey, as well as Scotland. The three fine relics in the Orkneys must not be passed over. The ring of Stennis with the stones standing and prostrate, measuring from 15 feet up to 19 feet in height, and the diameter of whose circle is 104 feet. Then the Ring of Brogar, covering a superficial area of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and the diameter of whose circle is 340 feet where the pillars are placed, and at the edge of the fosse 366 feet 4 inches. The pillars here do not exceed 13 feet 9 inches. There is also another ring called Bukan, the diameter of whose internal area is 136 feet, and one, and only one example on the island of the elliptical or long barrow, on the shore of the north loch, whose length is 112 feet, breadth 66 feet. (Measurements by F. W. L. Thomas, R.N., in the *Archæologia*, S.A., xxxiv.) In Derbyshire are the large groups of Brier Lowe, near Buxton (*Journal*, iii, p. 253), Bakewell (*Journal*, vii, p. 10). Arbor-Lowe 150 feet in diameter, half-way between Buxton and Ashbourne and Gib Hill, a large conical tumulus, connected with the vallum of the temple by a rampire of earth. The nine-ladies, a circle upon Stanton-moor, the stones 3 to 4 feet in height. Mr. Bate-man's explorations and his written works upon the subject give the fullest information as to the cromlechs, stones, and tumuli of this county. In Yorkshire is a tumulus near Way-Hagg, Hackness, 108 feet in diameter and 8 feet high. (*Journal*, vi, p. 1.)

The last group I will name, being the largest and most important, is that in Wiltshire, comprising Stonehenge and Abury with the adjoining tumulus of Silbury-hill.

Dr. Thurnam has given the result of his researches in this district in vol. xlii of the *Archæologia*, S.A., and analysed the labours in the same field of Sir R. Colt Hoare, Cunningham, Aubrey and Stukeley, and I deduce from his

account and his tabular statements the following facts: that the large long barrows are less numerous than the smaller circular ones, not only in Wilts, but also in Dorsetshire and the other counties of England. He reckons in Wiltshire as many as sixty of these large grave mounds, of which eleven in the north of the county are chambered. He says there may be two thousand barrows of all sorts in the county, which would give a proportion of one long barrow to thirty-five round barrows. In Somerset and Hants the long barrows are quite as rare. In Gloucestershire the chambered long barrows are somewhat more numerous, but in the more eastern, midland, and northern counties the long barrows as compared with the round barrows of the same districts are still more rare. The long barrows indicate a much earlier epoch than the round; they vary in size from 100 or 200 to 300 and even 400 feet in length, from 30 to 50 feet in breadth or upwards, and from 3 to 10 or even 12 feet in elevation.

"The ditch is not continued round the ends of the barrow. In none of the long barrows, whether unchambered or chambered, have objects of metal, either bronze or iron, been found. Their shape, which Dr. Stukeley calls pyriform, is rounded at both ends, but broader at one end than the other. They are generally placed east and west, but Dr. Thurnam counted as many as eleven in Wilts lying north and south. As to their contents Sir R. Colt Hoare says, "we have never found any brass weapons or trinkets, incense or drinking-cups. With very few exceptions we have always found skeletons on the floor of the barrow at the highest and broadest end, which generally points to the east, lying in a confused and irregular manner near one or more circular cists cut in the native chalk, and generally covered with a pile of stones or flints." Dr. Thurnam confirms this statement from his own researches and excavations, adding that "out of thirty-one long barrows he found only three in which there were signs of cremation, and that seemed to be of an imperfect and defective sort, quite different from that of the round barrow period."

The chambered long barrows of which he particularises twenty-eight, viz., eleven in North Wilts, one in Berks, thirteen in Gloucestershire, three in Somerset, appear to have been rifled for treasures, of which acts he gives in-

stances from history. Dr. Thurnam appears to incline to the belief that these long barrows are royal tombs, but it seems to me there is not sufficient reason for upsetting the old theory that these were the places of burial of the slain on the battle-field, the Val or Wæl from which Odin derived his name of Val-father. The great memorial or place of assembly, the Ting-Val, would probably be erected afterwards according to form, with stones, galleries and cists for later interments, and the spot would be selected near the original Val. On the battle-field there would be no time for cremation according to rule and ceremony, but the bodies would be huddled together just as the bones have indeed been found in these long barrows. If this theory be correct, the date of the long barrows need not be antecedent to the age of burning. In Stonehenge the inner temple is of an oval form, which doubtless had its significance, and one end is the highest as in the long barrows.

The name of ship-barrows given in Scandinavia to the pear-shaped or elliptical barrows seems to derive some plausibility from the record of the ship of the Asæ, in which their great voyage was performed as mentioned in the *Edda* of Snorre, but after all the shape of these barrows might merely be the outline of the human form in its burial-shroud on a large scale.

The forms of barrows have exercised the ingenuity of antiquaries in their classification. Dr. Thurnam divides them simply into long barrows and round barrows, the latter again into the bowl-shaped, the bell-shaped, and the disc-shaped ; which system embraces all the main characteristics of exterior form. Dr. Stukeley thought he could distinguish by the form the Druid's, the Arch-Druïd's, the king and his friends', the king and his wife's mound, but the warrant for this assumption seems to have existed only in his own imagination. The round barrows are in groups and often in circles ; they were used for subsequent interments, and often added to and sometimes cist-vaens introduced high up towards the summit, with galleries leading from the outside into these, as at Gib Hill. (See *Journal* xv, p. 151.) The tombs were probably visited on religious occasions by the friends and the priests, and their recesses respected as oracular and places for communicating with the souls of the

departed. Fine specimens of galleries leading to cists are to be seen at New-Grange,¹ Ireland ; Gav'r Innis, Brittany ; and Five-Wells, near Taddington, Derbyshire.

A few last words upon those grand monuments Abury and Stonehenge. The former was considered by Sir R. C. Hoare to be of far more ancient date than Stonehenge ; it was surveyed in 1812 and contained an area of 28 acres and 27 perches ; the circumference on ridge of val-lum was 4,442 feet. The original temple consisted of one hundred and eighty-eight stones, which in Mr. Aubrey's time, 1663, were diminished to seventy-three stones ; in Dr. Stukeley's time, 1722, brought down to twenty-nine ; in Sir R. C. Hoare's time, 1815, reduced to seventeen ; and now in 1873 even these are still further diminished. May the efforts of Sir J. Lubbock to preserve this and our other ancient monuments from destruction meet with the success they deserve.

Stonehenge has been so ably described, and by none perhaps better than Dr. Stukeley, that I shall pass over details, merely reminding my readers that the outer circle is said to be 105 feet in diameter, consisting of stones 18 to 20 feet high. About 8 feet within this outer circle is another, consisting of smaller stones, about half the height of the others. Then we come to the ovals, the first formed by trilithons, five in number, each formed of two upright stones and an impost ; all of these remained perfect in Dr. Stukeley's time ; and inside this a lesser oval of stones about 8 feet high,² the stones of both ovals increasing in height as they approach the upper end of the enclosure, and in the centre is the so-called altar-stone of coarse blue marble, 16 feet in length, 4 feet in breadth, 26 inches in thickness.

From a personal visit I find that of the stones of the outer circle, which were all connected together at the top by transverse stones laid upon and morticed into them and to each other, seventeen only are now standing of the upright

¹ The tumulus goes by the name of Oenguh or Oengus (the tomb of the chiefs or heroes).—*Celtic Druids*, by G. Higgins. London, 1827.

² These smaller and single stones, supporting nothing, which are less than half the height of the others, and forming the inner of the two external circles, and the inner of the two ovals, are of a different material to the others, and must have been brought from a distance. They are granitic, and may even have come from Ireland, according to the legend. The large stones with entablature are of a kind found in the neighbourhood.

stones and six of the imposts. Of the smaller circle of single stones seven now stand in their places.

The trilithons standing *in situ* are now reduced to two in a perfect state, those to the east. Of the central trilithon, which was much higher than the others, one stone only remains upright; the fourth trilithon towards the south-west is lying on the ground, and of the fifth one stone only remains vertical. Of the smaller single stones of the inner oval six only remain upright. The circumference of the ditch is given by Sir R. C. Hoare as 369 yards and its width 15 feet. An avenue of stones leading up to the temple extends 594 yards in length, according to John Aubrey (*Monumenta Britannica*). To the west of the temple is the cursus, running from east to west, 1 mile 5 furlongs 176 yards in length, and at the head of it is a hill commanding a fine view down the length of the course. The width of the cursus has been exaggerated; from my own measurement I do not find it exceed 33 feet 4 inches in width. Its bearing in a straight line is north-west by north and south-east by south.

Sir R. C. Hoare is as dumb as the stones themselves, which have no writing or signs upon them to satisfy our curiosity, by giving his own opinion as to the time of their erection, though he gives various conjectures of others on the subject, one of the most unlikely being that of Inigo Jones, who considered Stonehenge to be a Roman building of the Tuscan order. If the Wæl memorial of Stonehenge were restored as such, by heaping up the earth outside the external stones to give it the appearance of a mound, we should have perhaps the conventional shape of the Ting-Val in the palmiest days of Anglo-Saxon Odinism. At the same time it is proper to remark that there is nothing in the appearance of the ground to justify this conjecture, as the earth is perfectly flat from the exterior circle of stones to the val-lum, a distance of 106 feet. It would not be difficult to picture the performance of the sacrificial ceremony there, according to the rites described by Snorre, and ending with the games in the cursus. The chariot races would be quite in keeping with the practice and skill of the British warriors in managing horses, and Homer's description of the funeral of Patroclus so closely conforms to the remains we have, and to Snorre's description, that it is difficult not to appropriate the whole 23rd book of the Iliad to the illus-

tration of our subject. The funeral feast partaken of by the whole army ; the next day the woods cut down to make fuel for the pyre. The funeral procession ; the people then dismissed, whilst the chiefs alone, after the sacrifice of twelve prisoners¹ and many animals, witness the setting fire to the pile by Achilles, the hero of the feast. His refusal to wash his blood-stained hands till he had completed the last honours to his deceased friend. His libations and prayers ; the burning of the pile all night ; the quenching the embers with wine and gathering up the bones in the morning ; the placing of these in an urn, after which the mound of earth is raised over it. The urn is mentioned as covered with a linen cloth, and it probably had the small incense or spice vessel suspended inside it as we find in the urns in our own barrows. The games and races are then described, which complete the picture. The mound of Homer was 100 feet wide each way—

Ἐκατόμπεδον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, (Il., xxiii, 164.)

which agrees very well with the size of the larger round barrows in this country and in Scandinavia ; at least of those public ones which represented the Wæl or pile of slain, and were used as temples or places of assembly on religious occasions.

The predictions of the Voluspa were to be fulfilled. The world of Odin and his Asæ was to be burnt up and they with it. “It was an age of swords, an age of winds, an age of wolves.”² The destruction caused by the rage of the elements was to be succeeded by a new heaven and a new earth, a renovation of all things. The old world passed away and a new dispensation of Providence was thenceforth to control the destinies of the northern nations.

¹ On a Greek *cista* of metal, in the British Museum, are chased these Trojan prisoners bound for the sacrifice. It is fair to infer that this slaughter of men was an event of no ordinary occurrence, and that neither Jupiter nor Thor was always so exacting.

² *Voluspa*, v. 43.

ON THE EARLY INDUSTRIES OF
STAFFORDSHIRE.

BY J. C. TILDESLEY, ESQ.

I PROPOSE, so far as the space allotted for this paper will allow, to give some few particulars concerning the rise and early growth of the principal industries for which Staffordshire is still famous ; and to notice some of those staple manufactures which flourished in the county in olden times, but which are now entirely obsolete. My material is most abundant, whereas the *Journal* is limited in bulk, so that the treatment of my subject in its pages must of necessity be somewhat fragmentary.

Mining.—There are abundant records to prove that mines of “sea-coal” and iron ore were worked in Staffordshire at a very remote period, but the exact time at which the mineral wealth of the county was first utilised is left to mere conjecture. Hutton, the historian of Birmingham, attributes the existence of the latter town to the contiguous “Old field” at Wednesbury, “in which,” he says, “are the vestiges of many hundred coalpits long in disuse. * * * At what time this prosperous plant was set is uncertain, perhaps as long before the days of Cæsar as it is since.” This fanciful, and I must add extravagant conjecture, is ridiculed by Hawkes Smith, another Birmingham historian, who, however, admits that he can explain by no other circumstance than the working of mines, the existence at an extremely remote era of a cluster of towns so near together as Wolverhampton, Wednesbury, Walsall, and Dudley. The earliest development of minerals in the southern part of the county is associated by popular tradition with Aston Furnace, near Birmingham, whither it is said “sea coles” were borne on mules’ backs up the old “hollow way” for Wednesbury in the days of the ancient Britains. In North Staffordshire iron ore was certainly got soon after the conquest, for it was smelted at Uttoxeter in the thirteenth century, and coal and ironstone were both dug at Amblecote in the days of Edward III. The earliest authentic record of coal getting in Staffordshire occurs in a deed of the

Heronville family, wherein some lands bequeathed A.D. 1315 to Johannes de Weddesbyrie are described as "lying at Bradeswall (Bradley) against the coal-pits." A deed of the Perrye family, dated 1401, mentions a piece of land "with the two colepits situate thereon, called the Hollowaye and the Delves, situate near Windmill field, in Bilston." These pits were visited in 1640 by Dr. Plot, the county historian. The shafts were square in shape, supported on the sides by scantling timber. The coal was raised by a common windlass, and the skips were of oak fashioned after the manner of a sleigh. Two sleigh-skips, probably three hundred years old, were dug up a few years since at Shareshill, and were exhibited in the museum of the Geological Society at Dudley. Camden's *Britannia*, published about the year 1580, has this curious entry, "The south part of Staffordshire hath coles digged out of the earth and mines of iron, but whether to their commodity or hindrance I leave to the inhabitants who do or shall better understand it." Camden's scepticism in this matter is strange, seeing that before the date of his visit the value of coal as fuel was so far acknowledged that the tenants of the manor of Wednesbury had contested the right to dig coals for their own use. The prejudice against coal as house-fuel was, however, sufficiently strong to exclude it from the best rooms, and its use as fuel for iron smelting had not yet been adopted. These facts sufficiently explain why in the year 1680 the price of Staffordshire coal was no more than 16d. per ton. The scarcity of peat and moss, and of wood for making charcoal, led, however, to the introduction of coal beyond the precincts of the kitchen; and Parliamentary enactments, supplemented by Dud Dudley's long and romantic life of invention, labour, and misfortune, the history of which may be found in his quaint *Metallum Martis*, brought about the substitution of coal for charcoal as fuel for the blast furnaces. The first steam engine applied to coal mining was erected by Savary in 1739 at the Broadwaters Colliery, near Wednesbury. It was not altogether successful, but it proved the commencement of the general use of "steam gins," as they were called, as distinguished from the old fashioned horse gin, used up to that time in the coal mines of Staffordshire.

Iron-making.—The history of the Staffordshire iron trade practically begins with the dawn of the seventeenth cen-

tury, although iron was undoubtedly produced in the county at a period much more remote. It has indeed been conjectured, by the disinterment of scoria at West Bromwich and other places, that Staffordshire was a seat of the iron trade at the time of the Roman Britons. I have already referred to the smelting of iron at Uttoxeter. A record of the fourteenth century mentions the raising of iron ore at Brierly Hill, but no reference is made to its being smelted in the neighbourhood, although as to the latter fact there can be little doubt. Camden in his *Britannia* refers to Staffordshire as "an iron producing country," but gives no information as to the extent of the manufacture. That it was inconsiderable at that period is, however, indicated by the circumstance that no other mention is made of it in the contemporary records of the shire. It may be fairly assumed that the English iron trade at that time was mainly centred in Sussex, the manufacture in Staffordshire being limited to a few scattered furnaces and forges in the southern part of the county, the blast of the furnaces (which were only invented in the reign of Elizabeth) being obtained by bellows worked by water-wheels, charcoal being the only fuel used. The experiments of Dud Dudley in smelting with pit coal were made at Pensnett Chase, Himley, Haco Bridge, and Cradley, all in the neighbourhood of Dudley, between the years 1618 and 1680. The success of the invention was not secured in the lifetime of Dud Dudley, but soon after his death Blewstone, a German, continued the experiment at Wednesbury, and John Wilkinson of Bradley, together with Abraham Darby of Coalbrook Dale, succeeded a few years later in rendering the invention a complete success. By the year 1788 the use of charcoal for smelting had been discontinued at every furnace in South Staffordshire. But a yet bolder enterprise was awaiting achievement. Wilkinson had no sooner won this triumph than he turned his attention to the application of the blast engine to the smelting furnace. In this enterprise he had the assistance of James Watt, and Bradley Furnace soon became the site of the first blast engine in the world. [It is not a little singular that on the site of Wilkinson's old furnace at Bradley, a charcoal-iron furnace, the only one in the district, has been completed and put into operation within the last few weeks.] The forges which Dud Dudley owned are still, after the

lapse of two centuries, devoted to the manufacture of iron. Cort's invention for puddling by the present process was perfected at Tipton by Mr. Joseph Hall, of the firm Barrows and Hall ; and the first machine for slitting iron rods used in England was made at Stourbridge by Richard Foley (the founder of the present noble family of that name), who in the disguise of a travelling musician visited some Swedish ironworks where the machine was in use, and surreptitiously obtained the secret of its construction.

Locks.—The lock trade was a recognised industry in Wolverhampton and Willenhall, at the commencement of the sixteenth century. During Elizabeth's reign one Mark Scaliot is said to have constructed a lock, "consisting of eleven pieces of iron, steel, and brass, all of which with a piped key weighed only two grains of gold." Early in the seventeenth century curious locks were made in Wolverhampton for "bridles for brawling women." It is satisfactory to report that this branch of the lock trade is now entirely extinct. Dr. Plot, writing in 1686, says of Wolverhampton :—"The greatest excellency of the blacksmith's profession lies in their making of locks, wherein the artisans of Wolverhampton seem to be preferred to all others. * * * These locks they make with either iron or brass boxes, so curiously polished, and with keys so finely wrought, that it is not reasonable to suppose they were ever exceeded, except by Tubal Cain, the inspired artificer in brass and iron. * * I was told of a very fine lock made in this town, sold for £20, that had a set of chimes in it, that could go at any hour the master should think fit." The object of chimes in a lock, unless it be to soften the heart of a burglar, does not appear, but such music is certainly to be preferred to that of the lock on the wardrobe of fair Penelope, immortalised in Homer's verse (*Odyssey* xxi). Pope thus translates the passage :—

"A brazen key she held ; the handle turned,
With steel and polished ivory adorned.
The bolt, obedient to the silken string,
Forsakes the staple as she pulls the ring.
The wards, respondent to the key, turn round ;
The bars fly back, the flying valves resound.
Loud as a bull makes hill and valley ring,
So roared the lock when it released the spring."

Up to the end of the seventeenth century keys were usu-

ally ornamented by the insertion of a cross in the bow, and beads surrounded the shank.

Dr. Wilkes of Willenhall, writing in 1750, pays a flattering tribute to the skill of the locksmiths, both in Wolverhampton and Willenhall. Referring to the latter town he mentions that in the year 1776 one James Lees made a lock and key, the total weight of which did not exceed that of a silver twopence. The first of Chubb's well known patents was obtained in the year 1818, a factory on a small scale having been established in Wolverhampton some years previously by the founder of the firm.

Japanning and Tin Plate Working were commenced on a small scale at Wolverhampton and Bilston about the year 1740, and their early progress there was proportionate to the decay of the same industry in Monmouthshire, where it had flourished for several centuries, Pontypool being the chief centre. The first factory of any importance was the old hall, an Elizabethan structure, in Garrick Street, originally the mansion of the Leveson-Gowers. Specimens of the earliest examples of japanned ware produced at the old hall will, by permission of Mr. Frederick Walton, the present proprietor, be exhibited at the *conversazione* on Saturday. Among these will be found a specimen of enamelling, once a flourishing branch of the japanned goods trade, but now entirely obsolete. It is worthy of note that Edward Bird, the renowned R.A., was originally a painter of trays at the old hall, and some miniature landscapes, which bear traces of his "prentice han," are included in the examples just referred to. Soon after its introduction to Wolverhampton Bilston became a centre of the japanned goods trade. Mr. Hartill, who flourished early in the present century, was, however, the first Bilston manufacturer of any note. In his old workshop, which still stands midway between Bilston and Wolverhampton, fronting the Priestfield furnaces, several ingenious improvements in the process of manufacture were designed and carried out by Mr. Hartill and his clever apprentice, the late Gerard Barber. Of these the most important was the simple and beautiful process of "transferring," since adopted universally by japanners. Gerard Barber subsequently established a factory in Newmarket Street, Bilston, where he did much to improve the artistic excellence of japanned ware produced in that town. The

manufacture of enamelled copper boxes to contain *bon-bons*, or the hideous "black patches" worn by the beauties of the last century, constituted an important branch of industry in Bilston, until the decadence of that fashionable folly.

Steel Toys.—From the commencement of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century Wolverhampton was famed for its manufacture of steel shoe-buckles, watch chains, and sword hilts. The shoe-buckles, which were sold at ten to fifteen guineas a pair, were supplanted at the close of the French war by the introduction of "Bluchers," "Wellingtons," and "Pantaloons." For some time after, however, "silver buckled shoon" continued to be the distinguishing feature of the country squires. The watch chains comprised some very elaborate specimens of workmanship in steel, and fifteen to twenty guineas was no uncommon price to pay for a single chain. The sword hilts, usually shaped on the surface into diamond facets, were very elaborate and very costly, £50 being a medium value. One hilt, which occupied eighteen months in manufacture, realised about the middle of the last century not less than three hundred guineas. Unfortunately no details of its ornamentation are preserved, but from the hints respecting it, supplied by traditional lore, it might not unworthily have graced King Arthur's magic sword *Excalibur*. At the Soho works, established by Matthew Boulton in 1765, steel toys, also toys of gold, silver, copper, tortoiseshell, and enamelled work, were very largely produced, and the manufacture was not discontinued when (in 1775) Boulton was joined by James Watt; for it became a proverb that the Soho works could produce anything and everything in the shape of iron and steel, from a button to a steam engine. The steel toy trade as it was known a century ago is now quite obsolete, the term "steel toy" being applied to an entirely distinct class of products.

Wrought Nails.—Nail making is mentioned as a thriving industry in Staffordshire by Leland in his *Itinerary* (A.D. 1538), and Dr. Plot, in 1686, remarks that "for nail making there are so prodigious numbers here that in the parish of Segeley there are thought to be no less than two thousand of the trade, reckoning boys as well as men." Hutton, the Birmingham historian, riding on his grey nag through the nailing district, ingenuously records his surprise "at the num-

ber of female blacksmiths here about," until a buxom lass leaning with bare arms over her smithy door explained that they were nailers. Shaw says, that in 1798 nail forging employed one-fourth of the population of Tipton. Until the introduction of steam machinery, nail forging was a thriving industry, but since that era it has been gradually drooping under the weight of enormous competition, and its existence has only been prolonged at the cost of excessive labour on the part of men, women, and even children. It is most probable that the thousands of little nail smithies scattered throughout the district of which Dudley is the centre will in a few years become the relics of a decayed and obsolete handicraft.

Iron Castings.—Iron foundries were in operation in Staffordshire prior to the reign of Elizabeth, but the produce was on a small scale until after the close of the sixteenth century. Dud Dudley made "all sorts of cast iron wares, as brewing cisterns, pots, mortars, &c.;" and during the civil wars cannon balls were cast at Foley's foundry in Wolverhampton. Tipton, Bilston, Wednesbury, and Westbromwich were also among the earliest centres of the trade. The productions were, until the beginning of the present century, mostly confined to the heavier descriptions of castings, such as grates, boilers, pipes, and garden rollers. With the invention of cast hollow ware in 1779, by Jonathan Taylor, a Birmingham artisan, ironfounding in Staffordshire began to make strides of progress. The first hollow-ware foundry was established at Westbromwich in 1780 on a site which afforded ample water power. The manufacture was of the crudest and most primitive type until the present century had commenced. The annealing oven was invented in 1805 by Mr. Kendrick of Westbromwich, and in 1839 Messrs. T. and C. Clark of Wolverhampton invented the process of enamelling hollow ware now so generally employed.

Glass.—The glass trade appears to have been introduced into Staffordshire as early as the year 1557, by a little band of Hungarian refugees, who established themselves on a little eminence just outside the town of Stourbridge, known to this day as Hungary Hill. Hennezel, Tyttery, and Tyrak were among the leaders of these enterprising exiles, and were the first to discover the natural advantages offered by

this district as a glass-producing centre. In the year 1688 there were twenty-eight glass furnaces in operation at Stourbridge, chiefly producing broad and crystal glass ; the art of cutting and engraving not having been introduced from Germany until about a century later.

Leather Wares.—The manufacture of saddlery and harness commenced in Wallsall about the year 1660, but its progress until within the last half century was very tardy. An obsolete branch of this trade which flourished until about fifty years ago, was the manufacture of “pillions”. The pillion was especially designed for the use of the fair sex. Its seat was in the form of a closed back chair, from which a stuffed foot-board was suspended for the support of the rider’s feet. In its lower part it was padded like an ordinary saddle. It was always used with the gentleman’s saddle, behind which it was securely strapped. In this way the yeoman and his wife rode to church or market, and the use of the pillion was no doubt general so long as the highways of England were in such a condition as to prohibit the use of vehicles. Boots and shoes became staple products of Stafford and Stone at the close of the seventeenth century.

Brewing.—Sir Walter Scott in *Ivanhoe* refers to Burton ale as being famous prior to the reign of Richard I, and an authentic record quoted by Mr. Molyneux, the historian of Burton, speaks of a grant of “conventual beer,” made by the abbot and convent of Burton. The words of Hotspur in *Henry IV*,—

“Methinks my moiety north of Burton here
In quantity equals not one of yours”,

have been ingeniously construed by some into a reference to the beverage of the town. During the confinement of Mary, Queen of Scots, at Tutbury, it was one of the official instructions of Mr. Secretary Walsingham to the Governor of the Castle, “that “beere may be provided for Her Majesty’s use at Burton, three miles off.” It was not, however, until the opening up of water communication with Burton by the Trent Navigation Act of 1698 that brewing began to assume any importance among the industries of Staffordshire.

Ceramic Wares.—The manufacture of pottery and porce-

lain in Staffordshire dates from the middle of the sixteenth century, but for two hundred years the industry was of small extent and of the rudest type. Tobacco pipes, urns, glass-house pots, and butter pots, are mentioned in the county records as the earliest descriptions of pottery made in Staffordshire. Wednesbury, Armitage and Lichfield were originally seats of this trade, but about the year 1650 Burslem (a place which was first known as "Butter Pottery") began to rise into importance as a centre of the trade in butter-pots. These pots were cylindrical in form, and their size was defined by Act of Parliament to prevent fraudulent trading. They were made of the coarsest clay and displayed the rudest workmanship. At the close of the seventeenth century glazed wares became common, and purer clays introduced from Dorsetshire and Devonshire further improved the quality of Staffordshire pottery. The celebrated cream-coloured ware was first made by Edwin Booth, of Tunstall, in 1750. At this period commences the history of the Wedgwoods. The factory of John and Thomas Wedgwood, near Burslem, was the first not having a thatched roof, and this novelty, together with its large dimensions, obtained for it the name of "Wedgwood's Folly." The story of Josiah Wedgwood's life, with which is interwoven the highest achievements of ceramic art in Staffordshire, is too well known to need repeating here. Terra cotta, basaltes or black ware, white biscuit, jasper, bamboo and porcelain biscuit, all of which are capable of receiving a high polish and possess high qualities of endurance, are among the species of earthenware introduced by Wedgwood, and shaped by him into the purest forms of art. Antique vases and busts from the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum formed in many instances the models from which he worked. In the resuscitation of the principle of Greek art, a principle of severe and perfect propriety, uncompromising in its adaptation of every material object to its proper end, Wedgwood succeeded—to quote the fitly chosen words of his epitaph—"in converting a rude and inconsiderable manufacture into an elegant art and an important branch of national commerce."

Proceedings of the Association.

FEBRUARY 26.

GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were returned for the following presents :

To the Society, Royal Archæological Institute, for Journal, No. 115. 8vo. London, 1872.

" " Cambrian Archæological Association, for *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Fourth Series, No. XIII. 8vo. London, 1873.

" " Verein für Geschichte des Bodensee und seiner Umgebung, for the *Schriften des Vereins*. Part 3. 4to. Lindau, 1872.

To the Author, H. B. Mackeson, Esq., for Treatise on "The Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Hythe." Small 8vo, pamphlet, 1873.

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited a portion of a bronze (supposed) Roman legionary eagle (see Plate 6), and read the following

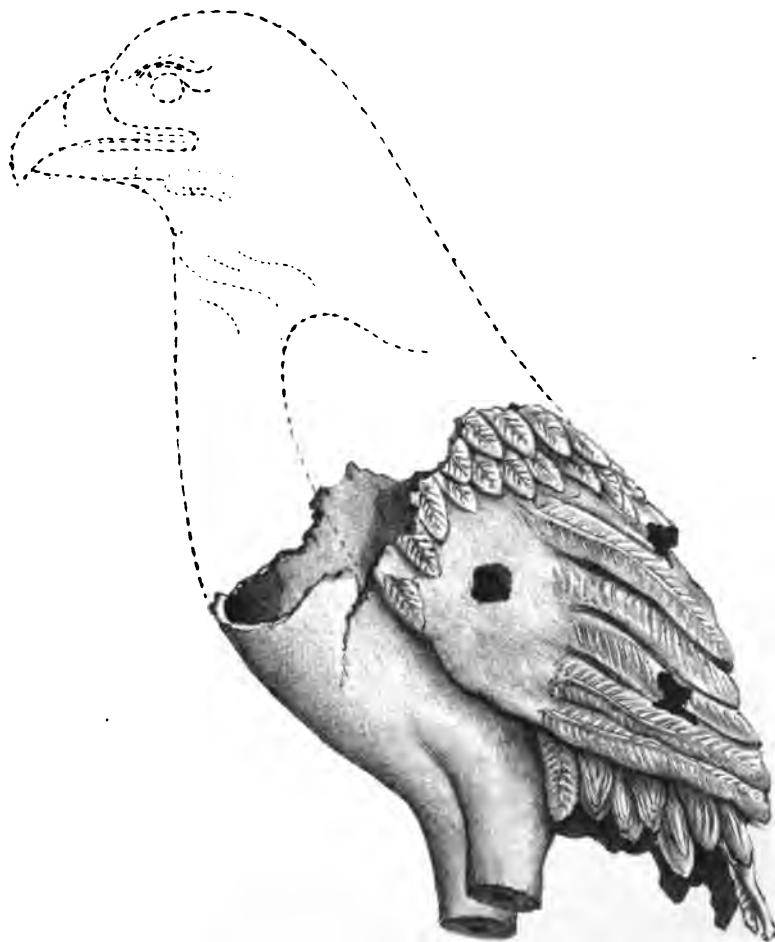
NOTES ON ROMAN EAGLES.

I have the honour, this evening, of submitting to the Association a bronze fragment of the lower half of a bird, which was found in Queen Victoria Street excavations, amongst a quantity of Samian ware, and which I believe to have been part of a legionary eagle.

The original ensign of the first Roman republican armies was a handful of straw fixed to the top of a spear or pole: hence the company of soldiers attached to it was called a *Manipulus*. This rude emblem was succeeded by the figures of various animals, such as wolves, boars, horses, minotaurs, and eagles. These last superseded the others almost entirely about one hundred years before the Christian era. They were made of silver or bronze; sometimes with expanded wings; and were probably of small size, for we are told of a standard-bearer (*signifer*) under Julius Caesar, who in the moment of danger wrenched the eagle from its staff, and concealed it in the folds of his girdle. The man who carried the eagle was called *aquilifer*, and he is supposed to have been placed in the company of the spearmen or *has-*

BRONZE FRAGMENT (OF SUPPOSED) ROMAN EAGLE.

Found in Queen Victoria Street, E. C. City, Jan^Y 1873.



tati. In imperial times the eagle was always carried with the legion, a legion being on that account called *Aquila*; each cohort having its distinctive badge, such as the serpent or the dragon, which was woven on a piece of cloth.

The most perfect specimen of a Roman eagle found in Britain is that which is now in the possession of the Duke of Wellington, and was found in His Grace's excavations at the Roman city of Silchester. It seems to resemble a parrot in the head, and has evidently been wrenched from the *fulmen* grasped by its talons. It is of bronze, and about six inches high. No published representation as yet exists, but Mr. Joyce of Strathfieldsaye has promised to read a paper on it at the Society of Antiquaries. He conceives that it was thrust into the rafters of the *orarium* of the Roman Forum at Silchester for safety, for it was found buried in a layer of charred wood some inches in thickness. The wings, which were not cast on, but attached, have been torn away. Mr. Joyce says that this eagle corresponds with the sculptured eagles on Trajan's column in many particulars, both as to proportional size, attitude, and feathering; the latter being very peculiar, and of a distinctly archaic character. The feathers are cut out with a tool sharply, and the longer ones have each a marked rib down the centre. Within it was apparently enclosed some sacred or greatly valued object, for the safety of which a little cover was made to fit upon the square opening on the top of the back, which has a ledge inside to support the cover in place. Mr. Joyce writes that he could not find either at Rome or Naples any similar bronze, though he had carefully sought for such. Signori Rossa at Rome and Fiorelli at Naples assured him that none other existed, according to their knowledge; but the drawings they made of their ideas of Roman eagles corresponded very closely with the Silchester find.

It will be observed that the fragment before you shows distinctly several of the features noticed by Mr. Joyce. The feathering appears to be marked by a graving tool in precisely the same way, and the wings were evidently attached to the sides; a smooth space to receive them being apparent on the bronze, together with a hole for the attaching rivet.

There is some difference in the form of the tail, and also the feathers on the breast are absent. The figure shows that it was attached to some base, for the legs are cut off short, and there are the holes in them for attachment by pins. I have attempted on the drawing to reproduce the possible appearance of the bird in its integrity.

There is no question but that some hostile hands have been engaged in the work of demolition, for considerable force must have been employed in breaking off the head, and so effectually mutilating the badge of conquest or military supremacy.

I also exhibit a tracing of the three chief forms of eagles which are interesting ; the upper one is the vulturine eagle, and has a long beak and overhanging eyebrow ; this appears to resemble most the eagle of Trajan's column at the four corners of the base.

The next one below is the black eagle, (*Aquila imperialis*), more thick set and strong in the neck, with a short strong bill and massive neck and shoulders. The bottom one is the *Aquila fulva*, the golden eagle, a very handsome bird, of more elegant form than the others.

The Silchester eagle does not resemble any of these much ; he leans very much forward, and has not that peculiar upright structure which is so characteristic of the bird in nature.

If the fragment I exhibit is really what I venture to claim for it, I think it is one of the most interesting discoveries made in Roman London of late.

Mr. E. Roberts exhibited the following objects :—

1. Part of an earthen Roman mortar, probably used for fluids, having ladder-like ornaments impressed in four lines on either side of the lip.
2. Four specimens of hob-nailed soles. No. 1, with double row of nails on the edges. No. 2, with a single row and several irregular spots of nails. No. 3, with occasional nails. No. 4, with a single row on the edges, a star at the heel, and a line down the middle of the toe. Of these the three with nails are Roman, and the one without is about Edward III.
3. A wooden clog, perhaps as early as the end of the fourteenth or as late as the seventeenth century, with a leather strap.
4. A Dutch mottled jug, seventeen century.
5. A pewter paten, seventeenth century.
6. A pewter cup, seventeenth century, all said to have been found in Queen Victoria Street during the current year.

In reference to a previous exhibition of portions of leaden water-pipes and remarks then made by Messrs. Roberts and Grover [see *ante* p. 91], Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following notes :—

ON ANCIENT WATER-PIPES.

The stout hollow-jointed culm or stem of the bamboo has from ages of untold antiquity been employed for water-troughs and water-pipes wherever the graceful plant abounds, and no better conduit for fluid can be devised for tropical climates—strength, lightness, and durability being the characteristics of this most useful cane.

Some may think that the leathern water-pipe denominated a *hose* is of modern invention, but we seem to have indications of its use in very early times, for Herodotus (iii. 9) mentions a report that the Arabians sewed the skins of oxen and other creatures together, and through this

conduit supplied cisterns sunk in the Desert, with water from the river Corys. And Pliny (*H. N.* v, 31) distinctly states that tubes of leather were employed in obtaining fresh water from a spring in the sea, near the Isle of Arados (or Ruad, as it is now called) off the northern shores of Phœnicia.

The Romans, like ourselves, employed three materials in the manufacture of their ordinary piping for the conveyance of water, namely, wood, earthenware, and metal. Pliny (xvi, 42) records that the pine, fir, and alder were wrought into water-pipes, and that when bedded in the earth they lasted for many years, and that their resistance to decay was greatly increased if the outside of the stem was left in contact with the water. I have seen a few examples of hollowed trunks of trees which have been exhumed in London from depths which would favour the idea that they were of Roman or Roman-British origin, though there was no direct evidence to fix their period. The Treen pipes found near the Mansion House, within a year or two, were unquestionably of very ancient date. These primitive water-conduits, like those of recent days, were shaped conical at one end, so that they could be driven tightly into the bore of the next tube, and in this way form an uninterrupted course.

Pliny (xxxii, 6) says that the best mode of conveying water from a spring is by means of terra-cotta pipes, two digits ($1\frac{1}{2}$ in.) thick, the end of one pipe fitting into the end of the next, and their joints cemented with quicklime macerated in oil. London has yielded many good examples of these *tubulae fictiles*, as Vitruvius (viii, 7) terms them, which were referred to in a general way when Mr. Baily kindly sent for exhibition the rare conical type of piping lately brought to light in Queen Victoria Street.

Years since there was found in the Villa of Antoninus Pius at Lanuvium, not far from the Via Appia, a portion of a water-pipe of silver, weighing between thirty and forty pounds; but we may be sure that such costly luxuries as tubes of this precious metal were not often indulged in; and indeed we gather from Vitruvius and Pliny that among the Romans *fistulæ plumbeæ* were the most common conduits for water. These pipes were made with a *lamina* or sheet of lead ten feet in length, with the edges folded together and soldered, so that there appeared to be a ridge or crest along the middle on the upper side of the tube; the *lumen* or bore being almost constantly pear-shaped, and but rarely cylindric, like the gigantic specimen just discovered. Roman lead piping of the ordinary contour was met with some years back in excavating in Farringdon Street for the Ludgate Hill Station, and a portion of this is preserved in the Baily Collection.

In our *Journal* (xi, 78) is a woodcut of a leaden water-pipe exhumed at a depth of about 3 feet 6 inches from the surface in Old Broad

Street, between Austin Friars and Threadneedle Street, 1854. This is of true classic type, and I am far from sure that it may not be of classic age, though its owner, the late Mr. Alfred Thompson, believed that it appertained to the "Tunne" in Corn Hill, erected in 1401. The sheet of lead used in its construction was five-sixteenths in thickness, and a fillet of solder unites its edges.

Be this Broad Street pipe Roman or mediæval, certain it is that the old classic form and mode of manufacture were continued down into the middle ages, as is evident by the example I produce, which is part of a leaden pipe found in the ruins of Beaulieu Abbey, Hampshire, which was founded by King John in 1204. It is made of a sheet of lead, two-tenths in thickness, folded up, the ridge of solder at the junction forming a rather sharp angle. When the pipe was in shape the bore would in its greatest measurement be about one and five-tenths high by one and two-tenths wide. The exhibition by Mr. Roberts and Mr. Grover of the fine sections of the ponderous leaden *fistula* lately exhumed in the City, induces me to lay before you the Beaulieu pipe, as it is both interesting and instructive to compare together works of different eras which were designed to answer the same purpose. And I would just observe in conclusion that the same century which witnessed the foundation of Beaulieu Abbey, also saw, as Stow (p. 99) reports, a grand supply of water given to London through leaden pipes. When speaking of Cheapside he says, "In the east part of this street standeth the great conduit of sweet water, conveyed by *pipes of lead* underground from Paddington for the service of this city, castellated with stone and cisterned in lead about the year 1285, and again new built and enlarged by Thomas Ilam, one of the sheriffs, 1479."

Though we have traced the employment of bamboo, leather, wood, earthenware, and metal for water-pipes from a remote era, there are yet points in the history of these conduits that it would be well to learn a little respecting, as for instance, when was the folded tube of lead superseded by one cast as a cylinder, and when was the huge Treen pipe abandoned for one of iron. These may appear trivial matters to many, but to the reflective mind they mark a grand civil improvement, a development in science, an advance in engineering skill which demands enquiry, and is deserving of record.¹

Mr. J. W. Baily sent for exhibition a number of recent London finds, which in date range over a period of full sixteen centuries, and comprise among other interesting objects the following, which will be described, as far as possible, in chronological order.

Truncated conical bead of deep blue glass, with sixteen grooves or

¹ I have been told that iron water-pipes began to be laid down in London about forty years since. The old elm-tree pipes were removed from Pall Mall about the year 1860, and in part of Piccadilly they remained in use until 1864.

ribs round its sides, so that in respect to both form and mode of decoration it may be compared with the terra-cotta bead discovered in Alderney, and engraved in this *Journal*, iii, 11. Both of these specimens belong to the bronze period. Stout annular bead of semi-opaque glass, of a pale greenish hue, with a few fine white wavy lines encircling it. This beautiful and rare *glaive* is of Keltic origin. Globose bead, composed of layers of red, white, and blue enamel, in the manner of the barrel-shaped example given in this *Journal*, iii, 328. Tunicated beads of precisely similar fabric to these have been manufactured from a very remote epoch down to modern times, as indicated in our *Journal*, xvii, 62.

The next group of objects are referable to the Roman era. Iron *clavus* or nail from a horse shoe $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, which in contour may be likened to an obtuse broad arrow. It is rather singular that whilst Roman horse-shoes have been found in various parts of the City, scarcely any examples of their nails have been met with, a fact which renders the present perfect *clavus* of much interest. A notice of Roman horse-shoes will be seen in our *Journal*, vi, 408, and xiv, 274. Net makers' *alveolus* or shuttle, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, identical in construction with the tatting-needles of the present day, being composed of two oblong plates of bone, narrowing towards their extremities, and held together by two cross pegs of iron. It is in a high state of preservation, and is an implement of much rarity. *Capulus* or shaft of a *scalprum* or penknife, three five-eighths long, formed of two flat plates of bone decorated with the ring and dot pattern; the end where the blade was hinged being stained green from the contact of the bronze band with which it was once mounted. Roman clasp-knives are rarely met with, but some ancient examples are mentioned in our *Journal*, xv, 348, xxiii, 276, and xxvi, 250. *Capulus* of a *scalpellum* or lancet, of golden-coloured bronze, the lower part paddle-shaped, the upper quadrangular; and in the end of this a portion of the iron blade still remains. This *capulus* is pronounced to be that of a *scalpellum*, from its exact resemblance to the shaft of a perfect specimen. Fork of golden-coloured bronze, five inches in length, employed in twisting off the ash from the wick of a lamp, as described in our *Journal*, xxv, 74. This specimen is two-pronged, the delicate stem slightly convoluted, and the upper end flat and perforated in two places, apparently for pegs or rivets to secure facings of some material to serve as a handle to the implement. This lamp fork is unquestionably the finest example of its kind which has been noticed.

Comb formed of the tine of the antler of a deer, divided for a certain distance to receive the somewhat fine wooden teeth; the sides, as far as the teeth extend, having once been plated with mother of pearl, a small portion of which is yet adherent. The tine beyond the teeth

serves for a handle. It is difficult to assign this rare type of comb to either people or age, but it is certainly not later than the fifth or sixth century.

The three following objects are of mediæval date: quillons or cross-guard of the hilt of a sword, of iron, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide; the ends of which when mounted inclined slightly towards the blade. This guard has at some distant period been fixed on a wooden haft $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and thus converted into a hammer. There is in the *Musée d'Artillerie* at Paris, a sword with similar quillons, which is there assigned to the fifteenth century, but in Demmin's *Weapons of War*, p. 376, it is stated to be of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. Effigy of St. James the Less, looking towards the right, clothed in an ample robe, which falls in heavy but graceful folds about the person, and resting on a club or fuller's bat, the instrument of his martyrdom of Jerusalem A.D. 62. This well designed figure is a flat casting in lead, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, with one small perforation through the head, and another through the body, by means of which it was secured to a substructure, as an *appliqué* embellishment to some piece of church furniture, or object belonging to a guild claiming the saint as its patron. That it was formerly the fashion to affix leaden images to objects of a different material is clear by the presence of the twelve apostles on the ancient stone font at Ashover in Derbyshire, but in referring to this instance it is not intended to imply that the effigy in question is of the same age, for it is certainly a work of the sixteenth century.

The latest item submitted by Mr. Baily is a round seal from the front of a glass bottle of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, displaying the equestrian effigy of St. George combating the dragon, with the letters I A towards the sinister side of the circle. This curious seal no doubt preserves the sign of the tavern where the bottle was used, the I A being the initials of the host. St. George has for ages been a very favourite tavern sign. Philip Faulconbridge in Shakespeare's play of *King John* (ii, 1) speaks of—

“St. George that swinged the dragon, and e'er since
Sits on his horseback at mine hostess' door.”

In the seventeenth century tokens were issued from taverns bearing this sign in Aldersgate Street, at St. Katherine's, near the Tower; in Cheapside Market, Leadenhall Street, Smithfield, Field Lane, and Whitefriars, on the north side of the Thames, and on the opposite side of the river in Southwark. The names and initials on these tokens do not aid us to a knowledge of who I A was, though further research may perhaps disclose his name and place of residence.

Dr. Kendrick sent for exhibition two mirrors of quaint character.

The earliest was designed for the pocket, and is contained in a book-formed case with sliding cover of mulberry-wood, measuring four inches and three quarters in height, three inches and a half in width, and three quarters of an inch in thickness ; the back and sides richly carved with quatrefoils, trefoils, chevrons, Katherine-wheels, and quadrants. It appears to be of English work of about the year 1680, and is a curious addition to the examples mentioned in this *Journal*, xvii, p. 279. The second mirror, or rather pair of mirrors, are discs mounted back to back in a neatly carved cherry-wood frame, eight inches in diameter, with a brass hinged loop for suspension. The fashion of the frame is indicative of the first half of the eighteenth century. One of these glasses is a plane, the other a concave mirror, the latter magnifying the features to a gigantic size.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that, with all our knowledge of catoptrics, we had yet to learn the era of the invention of concave mirrors of glass, which we might, perhaps, fairly imagine were little subsequent in date to the globose and convex mirrors said to have been first made about the beginning of the sixteenth century. When the Spaniards visited Mexico they found the natives in possession of plane, convex, and concave mirrors wrought of obsidian ; and it is highly probable that other ancient people employed concave mirrors of stone and metal long before those of glass came into being. It is believed that concave mirrors formed an essential portion of the wonderworking apparatus of the old magicians and necromancers. In modern times they have been so contrived as to elongate or widen, as the case might be, the countenance of those who gazed at them. There was formerly a pair of such mirrors placed in recesses on each side of the lobby of the Rotunda at Vauxhall, which distorted the face of the beholder to a frightful degree of height and breadth, causing no small astonishment to those who suddenly turned their eyes towards them.

The Chairman exhibited, on behalf of R. Stainbank, Esq., of Furnal's Inn, a silver peg-tankard, its owner having obtained it when it was sold by auction in the neighbourhood of Plymouth about two years since. It is said to have been the property of a maiden lady, a descendant of the family of Sir Francis Drake. A quantity of old plate was sold at the same time, but a doubt as to this being silver arose. It has since proved to be silver, but the marks are unknown as English Hall-marks. On the handle are the letters I D, somewhat rudely formed by puncturing the metal ; whilst just above these letters are remains of an ornament of original engraving, an upright line with a trefoil or fleur-de-lis at top and bottom, and across which another set of initials has been originally engraved, and attempted to be obliterated. Nevertheless the initials T. R. are still very distinct.

In our Gloucester volume, published in 1846, at p. 221, is an article

by Mr. Pettigrew on peg-tankards, tracing them back to the use of the tenth century, with an account of some fine specimens, the majority of which, however, are of wood.

The specimen now produced differs not only in being of silver, but also in its more moderate capacity. These tankards usually hold two quarts, and are marked off, by the pegs inside, into divisions of half a pint each. Mr. Stainbank's example is pegged for six divisions of half a pint each. The external design of the tankard is very simple, the lid and bowl having a plain, polished surface. The only enrichments are on the three feet, each of which is made as a bunch of grapes with a vine-leaf rising from it on to the body of the bowl. The lid is hinged to the top of the handle, and the thumb-piece for raising the lid is formed into two pomegranates. The vessel stands six inches and three quarters high, is five inches diameter, and weighs thirty ounces and a quarter avoirdupois.

Mr. Blashill, in the absence of J. T. Irvine, Esq., read a paper by that gentleman on "Recent Roman Discoveries at Bath," which will be printed hereafter; and remarks were made by Mr. Grover upon the points of difference observable in the temples dedicated respectively to the worship of the Sun and the Moon, and stating that there was evidence that coal had been used by the Romans for the purpose of keeping up the perpetual or sacred fires in these temples.

The Chairman announced that, in consequence of a most cordial invitation from the municipal authorities and the learned Societies of Sheffield, the Annual Congress would be held at that town, under the presidency of the Duke of Norfolk, during the month of August or September.

MARCH 12.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced :

John Paul Rylands, Esq., Highfields, Thelwall, Cheshire.

William Harry Rylands, Esq., Highfields, Thelwall, Cheshire.

Thanks were returned for the following present:

To the Society of Antiquaries, for Proceedings, vol. v, No. 5, Second Series. 8vo. London, 1872.

Mr. Roberts announced the death of Mr. J. W. Baily, and said he was sure that the grief which must necessarily be felt by the Council and members at the decease of so useful and amiable a member of the Association was shared equally by all. He added that he had been directed to address a letter of condolence to Mrs. Baily, and he was

confident that every one present would heartily join with him in the message of sympathy which he was about to convey to the family under the severe loss which they had just experienced.

The Rev. A. H. Cumming, rector of Curey and Gunwalloe, exhibited antiquities from Cornwall, consisting of stone celts and hammer-heads, coins, portions of a cinerary urn, a so-called Egyptian bead, and matrix of a seal, all found in his own parish; also some Elizabethan sacramental plate and a hand-brick from the Channel Islands. Full details of these will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

After remarks by Messrs. H. Syer Cuming, Roberts, and Morgan, Mr. H. Syer Cuming submitted, on behalf of the late Mr. J. W. Baily, the following Roman remains recently exhumed in London, which were sent for exhibition by his family in compliance with what may be almost termed his dying wish :

Knife of iron. The broad-pointed blade is slightly waved at back, and has a ridge down its length on one side; and is provided with a socketed haft, within which traces of wood are still visible. This rare and peculiar implement measures, from cusp to base of socket, nearly ten inches and a half, and is believed to be the first of its kind which has been noticed as a London find. In contour it strongly resembles two knives of bronze engraved in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 270.

Knife of iron, or *culter*, the broad blade gradually narrowing to a point, and having a sharp tang for insertion into a *manubrium* or handle of wood. Extreme length, six inches and a half.

Knife of iron, or *culter*, its broad, concave-backed blade and tang measuring four inches and a quarter in length. These two *cultri* closely resemble examples found within the Roman encampment on Hod Hill, near Blandford, Dorset, and engraved in this *Journal*, iii, p. 97.

Knife, or *culter*, of similar type to one described in this *Journal*, xx, p. 66. It is of iron, about nine inches and a half in length, the edge somewhat concave, and the back rising from the haft for a short distance, and then declining to the point. The broad, flat tang is faced on either side with plates of bone incised with a line of nine ring and dot ornaments. At the butt of the grip is a ring, or rather loop, by which the *culter* might be suspended.

Jugum, or beam of a *libra* or pair of scales, of yellow bronze, five inches and seven-eighths long, of exceedingly delicate fabric. The *examen*, or index, is not quite central; but to equalise the weight on either side, a piece of fine wire is twisted round the shorter portion of the *jugum*. This unequal division of the beam looks as if it were intentional, and not the result of accident.

Statera, or steelyard, of iron, five inches and a half long. At one

extremity is a ring to receive the suspending chains of the *lancula* or scale, and a little way within depends the *hamus* or hook. At the opposite end of the *scapus* or beam is a knob to prevent the *æquipondium* or weight from sliding off. A nearly perfect *statera* of bronze is engraved in this *Journal*, vi, p. 156.

Ansa stateræ, or steelyard-handle, of iron, nearly four inches and a quarter high, consisting of a long loop with a loose ring at top, and a little cross-bar at the base, perforated for attachment to the *scapus* or beam.

Æquipondium, or weight, of yellow bronze. It is somewhat conical, with a few rings round the sides and on the base; and from the flat top rises an upright stem, drilled towards the apex to receive a ring, by which it was suspended on a *statera* or steelyard. Entire height, two inches and a half. The *æquipondium* was not unfrequently of very tasteful design. One representing a human head may be seen in this *Journal*, i, p. 147.

Clavis trochi, or hook, employed by the Roman boys in trundling their hoops in the manner shown on gems in the Stosch collection at Berlin; of iron, ten inches and three quarters long; with a flat haft, about one inch broad, in the middle; a narrow piece at the end being turned into a ring on the same plane with the haft. The grip of this *clavis* is much wider than those of the examples submitted on the 8th of January last, and seems to strengthen the idea that these rare objects were really used to guide the *trochus*, as first suggested by Mr. H. Syer Cuming.

Ansa ostii, or door-handle, of bronze. On the 12th of February last Mr. Baily exhibited the staple or holdfast of a door-handle, from which the ring was lost, and the general design of the object differing totally from the present specimen. The *ansa* of the example under consideration swings between two staples, and may be described as a stout, faceted bar, five inches wide, with side-branches contracting as they near the loops of the staples, after passing through which the ends descend and take the form of acorns.

A portion of another *ansa ostii*, of bronze, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, having the branches terminating in simple hooks, like some of the less ornate examples discovered at Pompeii.

Both of these beautiful, highly preserved, and rare door handles, have a good sized knob in the centre of the straight bar, which during the classic ages served the purpose of a knocker. They may have belonged to the dwellings of persons of rank, or possibly been affixed to the doors of some temple, the acorn being a fruit sacred to Jove.

Portion of the horizontal bar of a hinge of bronze, which, fractured as it is, measures $18\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, so that when perfect it must have been of considerable size, and suited to a very large door. The

part next the joint seems to have been somewhat tri-lobed in outline, and the bar tapers slightly towards the middle and then widens again to its termination. It is curious to observe that though we know the Greeks termed this kind of hinge *giglymus*, we are unacquainted with its Latin designation; for the *cardo*, which our dictionaries render hinge, was of very different construction, consisting not of a folding joint but of a pivot and socket.

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited a sword blade of a rare type from the bed of the Thames, marked throughout its whole length with rows of circles.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., exhibited the following objects: a variety of the bone implements, such as have been before shown, and of which the use is unknown. This one is stained with bronze, and has crosses marked on it; an iron key, of late fifteenth century date; a wooden mazer or wine bowl, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and 4 inches diameter. It has been edged with metal, and there are marks in three places of inverted Y-shaped attachments with pin holes. A Fulham-ware mustard pot; a Saxon or Norman cup 5 inches high, with neck, and thumb-marked base; a speckled drinking mug, late sixteenth century, 5 inches high, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, with handle; a brown glazed jug, thirteenth century, 7 inches high, 7 inches diameter, handled. An Elizabethan pitcher of dark brown glazed ware, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, with ornamental lines, and handled. Part of a costrel of pearly cream colour and dark blue floral ornaments; the two handles are perfect. It is of Gibbin ware, sixteenth century. All these were found in the present year in Cannon Street.

The chairman announced that a provisional programme of the arrangements for the Congress to be held at Sheffield in August or September, under the presidency of the Duke of Norfolk, had already been drawn up, and that a settled draft of it would probably be in the hands of members some time before the end of June.

MARCH 26.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following member was announced:

Renben Courtnell Greatorex, Esq., 6, Upper Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W.

Thanks were returned for the following presents:

To the Society, Birmingham and Midland Institute for Transactions of the Archaeological Section for 1870 and 1871. 4to. Birmingham, 1871-2.

Mr. E. Roberts exhibited on behalf of Mr. Robert Collier Driver a modern silver snuff-box, with an oval cameo lid, probably of the sixteenth century, showing the profile bust of the Roman emperor Publius Licinius Gallienus, and the following objects in his own possession :

A group of Roman articles found in Queen Victoria Street, viz., part of a strap hinge, a hook, and an eye for driving. A staple, a hook or gaff, three handles of vessels (one being twisted), a style, three needles, all iron ; also a bronze handle of a *spatula* and two bone pieces, one of a spindle and one of a style; key, seventeenth century; a piece of Upchurch ware with Barbotine (or slip) work ; a tapering bottle, probably fourteenth century ; a figure of a cock, probably a whistle of the seventeenth century. A latten spoon, fourteenth century. A knife with wooden additions to the handle at the front and back. Three specimens of mottled or speckled earthenware bottles. Three specimens of the Bellarmine ware jugs known as greybeards, one being very small, of light colour, and of the early part of the sixteenth century. Three skillets of the seventeenth century.

Mr. W. H. Cope exhibited an elegant pilgrim's bottle of German stone ware, about twelve inches in height and ornamented with floral devices in relief, in two colours, and having on each side a coat of arms with the inscription FRIEDERICH EMICH GRAF ZU LEININGEN UND TAXBURG [Dagsburg] HERR ZU APPIRMUN, 1678.

Mr. H. W. Henfrey exhibited a small hexagonal bronze seal bearing the legend SANCTA KATERINA. In the centre is a barbarously executed figure of St. Katherine standing and holding the wheel in her right hand. Mr. Henfrey said that similar little circular and oval seals of the fourteenth century had been referred to by Mr. Cuming in his paper "on St. Katherine," *Journal*, vol. xxviii, p. 126, and this example probably belonged to that period.

Mrs. Baily transmitted for exhibition a number of personal ornaments, which have within a short time been exhumed in London, and are all, with one exception, belonging to the Roman era. The following deserve special notice.

Acus crinalis, or hair-pin, worn through the braided locks at the back of the head, in the manner shown in the *Journal* (iv, 47). This most delicate specimen is of bronze, measuring $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, with the broader end slit like a bodkin, and the opposite extremity slightly spiraled. *Acus crinalis*, of yellow bronze, 7 inches in length, bulbed at the top somewhat in the fashion of the one engraved in the *Journal* (v, 361), and with a loop or eye on the side of the shaft a short distance from the point, through which a narrow ribbon or cord passed to secure the pin to the hair, or possibly to attach a veil to flow over the neck and shoulders of the wearer. *Acus crinalis*, of bronze, $4\frac{3}{4}$ long, with a short transverse bar at the end, which gives it the appear-

ance of a miniature crutch. This type of hair-pin is very scarce. *Acus crinalis*, nearly 5 inches long, the shaft of iron surmounted with the bronze figure of a dog. *Acus crinalis*, 5½ inches in length, the iron shaft surmounted by the bronze figure of a porcine-like animal. Among the London finds in the British Museum is an *acus crinalis* of bronze, the surmounting ornament of which is an eagle, and it has been suggested that the pin is a miniature representation of the Roman ensign called *Aquila*, and if this idea be correct may not the two last examples refer to two other *signa militaria*, viz., the wolf and the boar? Harp-shaped *fibula* with rather broad and neatly decorated front, the *acus* or tongue being hinged. It may be compared with a Roman brooch engraved in the *Journal* (iii, 97, fig. 3). Two harp-shaped *fibulae* with their tongues coiled into springs. These three fine examples of *fibulae* are wrought with much care of the bright yellow bronze of which many of the smaller objects of Roman art and utility discovered in London are made, and which seems to be the famous *orichalcum* or *aurichalcum* mentioned by Pliny (*H. N.* xxxiv, 2). *Annulus* or finger ring of iron, broad at the *pala* or bezel, from which the convex hoop gradually tapers to the back. It is set with an oval piece of black paste, the obsidian glass of Pliny (xxxvi, 67). This fine *annulus* may for form be compared with an example engraved in the *Journal* (iii, 98), but it would be difficult to point to one of the same metal in equal perfection; indeed Roman *annuli* of iron, in any condition, are rarely met with. There is one of rather large size in the Cuming collection, which was found in the banks of the Thames in 1865. For some notes on Roman finger rings of iron see *Journal* (xiv, 280). Three chatelaine implements of yellow bronze, pendulous from a loop, and consisting of an *aurisscalpium* or ear-pick; a *volsella*, or pair of tweezers for eradicating hairs, and a flat broad handled bicupid article, the use of which is not quite obvious, though it may have appertained to the finger-nails. Among the brazen toilet implements in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy are three furcated objects which possibly were designed for the same purpose as the one in question (see Wilde's *Catalogue*, p. 549). Terminal ornament of a belt, wrought of bronze, in form of a pointed arch, with spreading device at top, pierced to receive a rivet to secure it to the leathen band, two other perforations for the same purpose being in the lower part of the plate. In the field is sculptured a leonine animal with head and right paw upraised. Though almost every trace of vitreous matter is lost, this curious ornament has evidently been a *champ-levé* enamel, probably of Limoges manufacture of the thirteenth century. It is of the same period and *atelier* as the badge engraved in the *Journal* (vi, 151).

Mr. J. Gray, Q.C., exhibited through Mr. G. R. Wright the following tradesmen's tokens, Swan in Clare Market, Ralfe Sherwin, 1668.

Globe, in Long Aker, Will. Edmonds, 1667. Falcon, in Fetter Lane, Henry Gibbon, 1650. Bacon shop in Butcher Row, at Temple Bar, Matthew Dune. Baker in Shear Lane, within Temple Bar, J. W. D., 1666; also farthings of Charles I and II, and one of the small Scotch copper coins of Charles II, commonly known as "turners."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a portion of an ancient grain muller found last century at Cologne, and which when perfect must have resembled in form the muller from Cornwall produced at the previous meeting by the Rev. A. H. Cumming, which is a broad thick disc with the under or triturating surface convex, and the upper flat. The German specimen is $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches in greatest thickness, and must originally have been about 4 inches diameter. It is wrought out of a piece of Andernach lava, a material frequently employed for hand-mills, but rarely for other purposes.

Mr. Cuming also exhibited a portion of a dagger-blade made of the same lava as the above and brought with it from Cologne. A transverse section of this blade presents a rhomb, measuring from angle to angle $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches, at the larger end of the fragment, which is about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length. This weapon if used by a powerful hand would have inflicted a wound deadly as that from the ponderous stone daggers of the tribes of Nootka Sound, one of which is engraved in Skelton's *Meyrick*, vol. ii, pl. 150, fig. 2. It may be well to record that this blade and the muller were brought to England in a nearly perfect condition, and were broken up by a dealer into half a dozen pieces to sell as geological specimens at twopence each, and in this way these extremely rare and interesting objects were destroyed.

Mr. Cuming in addition to the above articles produced a Wallachian clasp-knife of the seventeenth century, but which in its haft closely resembles the recent example exhibited by Mr. Grover on the 12th instant, both finding an archetype in the bone *manubrium* of the Roman *scalprum*. The thin iron blade of this knife is $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, straight-edged, with arched back; and the cylindric haft of wood is nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and annulated in the lower half of the lathe.

Mr. George H. Wright, F.S.A., read the following notes on

THE WATER GATE OF YORK HOUSE, CALLED YORK STAIR.

Amongst the duties of the British Archaeological Association as set forth in the articles of its foundation in the year 1843, now thirty years ago, are enumerated "the promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, etc.," "by opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which ancient national monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened."

These duties our Association has from time to time well attended to,

and in some instances I am proud to think most successfully carried out, and although the object of this short notice may not come under the exact denomination of an "Ancient National Monument", I yet trust it will be thought sufficiently interesting as a work of some antiquity to deserve the attention of the Association, and cause its being better looked after than it has for many years been, and thus saved from the destruction which its present neglected condition seems to make almost certain within a few years of this very time.

I allude to the old water-gate, better known perhaps as York Stairs, of the once famous "York House", which reared its palatial magnificence on the banks of the river Thames, and was in its day one of the grandest of the ancient houses of the nobility of our famous old London and Westminster cities.

My calling attention to the necessity of our Society doing something for the improved condition, as well as preservation of this vestige of the former greatness of the spot on which it still stands, has been caused by the letters and remonstrances that have lately appeared in the London papers, on the subject of the proposed destruction of "Northumberland House", a work of intended Vandalism, that has not the excuse even of necessity, since a much better, if not a more inexpensive roadway could be made to the noble though sadly deserted embankment, by opening up a thoroughfare to it on the south-west corner of the almost unique building referred to above, and I fear in spite of all that has hitherto been urged in its defence, doomed soon to be pulled down and carted away.

The proximity of the old "York Stairs" or water-gate to Northumberland House, led me to look into the origin and history of the mansion it took its name from, and if not trespassing too much upon the time of the meeting, I will now shortly give a few extracts from several works I have consulted on the history of "York House", and thus leave the Association to consider whether the value I attach to the preservation of this interesting monument is deserved, and if so, whether or not steps might not be taken to at all events restore the gateway to something like its primitive condition, and utilize it for the good of the public by making it another foot entrance to the well arranged gardens on the Embankment in which it now stands, half buried, with its stairs entirely lost to sight, in the mud and rubbish of accumulated years of shameful neglect and decay.

A little beyond Hungerford Market, a place only known now to Londoners by the hideous iron-roofed shed that spans the Charing Cross Railway Station, and shuts out from the river and embankment all view of this historic part of Westminster as well as the neighbouring Whitehall, had stood for many years the Bishop of Norwich's Inn; but this was exchanged in Henry the Eighth's reign, for the Abbey of

St. Bennet Holme in Norfolk. The next year Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, exchanged his house, called Southwark House, or rather Place, for the ancient mansion or, as it was then the fashion to call such dwellings, "Inns", just as on the Continent they still name the residences of the aristocracy "hotels", from hostels and hostelry. In Queen Mary's time it was purchased by Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, and then first called York House, and afterwards Tobias Matthew, Archbishop also of York, in James the First's time, exchanged it with the Crown for several manors elsewhere, and which the king gave in lieu thereof; after which the mansion was inhabited by Lord Chancellors Egerton and Bacon, the occupation of it by the latter illustrious personage giving it a sufficient celebrity, even if it had not been dwelt in afterwards by two noblemen with whose names the place where the old house once stood must for ever be associated, and made worth remembering. James the First granted York House to his favourite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and he made it, according to an old writer, "a magnificent house," and the scene of many a splendid pageant and gorgeous revel.

In the year 1648 the Parliament bestowed it upon Lord Fairfax, the celebrated Puritan General; and subsequently, his only daughter and heir, Mary, marrying George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, and equally profligate and extravagant as his father, the property by one of those "curiosities of family history" came once more into the possession of the proud Buckinghams.

This was at the Restoration, and soon after the new owner greatly enlarged and added to the mansion, and built the water-gate or stairs now existing, under the guiding hand of the celebrated architect Inigo Jones, a specimen as it was called then of the "Tuscan order with rustic work in stone," and commanding admiration by all men of taste, for its fair proportions and agreeable style.¹ When Buckingham, who soon deserted the wife who had brought him into his patrimonial possessions on the banks of the Thames, fell into poverty through his constant extravagance and other disgraceful propensities, the estate was sold to some enterprising builders and the old house pulled down, the grounds dismantled, and all records of the grand past, save the old water gateway, turned into a wilderness. This eventually gave way to a series of handsome streets and alleys, in which the name of this unprincipled nobleman is yet perpetuated, they being called George Street, Villiers Street, Duke Street, Of Alley, and Buckingham Street. The buildings were called York Buildings, a name still preserved in the neighbourhood, which has, however, now become a second or even third rate part of the town.

¹ York House and its water-gate have been engraved after a drawing by Holler, and published by W. Herbert and R. Wilkinson in 1808.

The fine old gateway exists on what was once considered no doubt, a handsome terrace, but which is now simply a disgrace and a nuisance, as it completely cuts off all approach by Buckingham Street to the new gardens of the Embankment, and by its long strip of barrenness and decay, bounded by a low dungeon-like cemented brick wall, adds greatly to the melancholy and miserable look of the place, and the now fast tumbling into ruin, interesting water-gate itself.

Surely the Metropolitan Board of Works might make an effort to rescue this old monument of one of London's most famous river-side houses from its present neglected state, and make it, as I have said before, a new footway for passengers to the gardens of the Embankment, and thus at all events bring it back once more to a useful purpose, and save it from continued degradation and decay, as it has been characterized by many writers as a very handsome structure, and especially by Pennant, the historian of London in the last century, as deserving of all praises bestowed upon it by the author of the *Critical Review*.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper on "Sun Dials," which will be printed hereafter.

APRIL 9TH.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Society, the Powys-Land Club, for Historical and Archaeological Collections relating to Montgomery. Part 12. 8vo. London, 1873.

To the Author, Robert Ferguson, Esq., for Treatise "On the Dialect of Cumberland, with a Chapter on its Place-Names." 8vo. London, 1873.

Mr. Roberts informed the meeting that the Council had determined to support Sir John Lubbock in his endeavour to pass his bill for the preservation of national monuments, and that therefore a petition from the Association in furtherance of that object would be added to those of the various other bodies who had the same important end in view.

Mr. Thomas Morgan exhibited a pair of steel scissors from Spain, and of the manufacture of that country, probably sixteenth century, with the following inscription : JUAN . ROMERO . ME . FECIT . EN . LA....DEL . USSO . DN . M . R . COM . GEN.

Mr. George R. Wright said that the arms which had been incidentally mentioned at the last meeting as being on York Gate were those of Villiers. A question arose as to whether the gateway had been moved from the original position it had occupied; and it was suggested

by Mr. Hills that there was some truth in the statement that it had been moved, though that fact was still doubted by Mr. Wright.

Mr. Gordon Hills exhibited a curious box of wooden figures, of which he could only say that it belonged to Mr. Pettigrew; but whether it was a game, Chinese or Japanese, or some other object for the use of the blind, could not be decided.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that the conversation upon the exhibition of Mr. Grover's Roman eagle which also arose during the last meeting respecting the antiquity of cast iron, had induced him to refresh his memory on the subject; and whilst unable, at present, to point to any direct proof that the Romans liquefied the metal so that they could run it into moulds for ornamental purposes, there seemed good reason to believe that casting in iron was known in the higher classic ages. If reliance is to be placed on Pausanias (*Laconica*, c. xiv), Theodorus of Samos cast figures of iron some five hundred years before the Christian era. Pausanias (*Phocica*, c. xviii) also mentions Tisagoras as an artist who produced a group of Hercules and the Hydra in iron; and further, that he saw in Pergamus the heads of a lion and a boar in the same metal. This author also speaks (*Messeniaca*, c. xxxi) of an iron statue of Epaminondas, the famous Theban general and statesman. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv, 40) tells us that Aristonidas mingled together copper and iron to form the statue of Athamas, which was preserved at Rhodes, where was also an iron statue of Hercules, the work of an artist named Alcon. The perishable nature of iron forbids us to expect that many early productions in this material have survived to our day; but the Count de Caylus, in his *Recueil d'Antiquités Egyptiennes, Etrusques, etc.* (iii, 96), has engraved the figure of an Etruscan Hercules of cast iron; and in a sale at Messrs. Sotheby's rooms, April 3rd, 1854, lot 230 contained a portion of a Greek or Roman head in iron, which had every appearance of having been cast in a mould.

The art of casting iron once discovered, was probably never entirely lost, but continued to be practised, for certain purposes, from the time of Theodorus of Samos down through successive ages in various parts of the world. According to Demmin (*Weapons of War*, pp. 63, 488) the casting of iron cannon commenced in the fourteenth century; and even in Switzerland, where firearms were of rather late introduction, the founders were at work at Basle in 1371, and at Berne in 1413. There is a popular idea that iron was first cast in Sussex, in 1543, by Ralph Hoge and Peter Baude; but fire-dogs exist which are clearly as old as the fifteenth century, and in all likelihood these were not the earliest iron objects which emanated from the Sussex moulds.

Mr. Cuming closed his observations with the exhibition of an exceedingly curious ancient Chinese chain of *cast iron*, consisting of eleven quadrilateral links, each measuring one inch and three quarters in

length by one inch in width ; the alternate ones being made without a seam, those between them showing a transverse mould-scar at either end. This chain is part of the collection of the late Princess Christian of Waldeck and Pyrmont, formerly preserved in the Castle of Friedrichsberg.

Mrs. Baily contributed a rich display of bronze and iron keys and portions of padlocks, chiefly of Roman fabric, the whole having been exhumed in the City during the last few months. The following are examples of much interest :

Sera pensilis, or padlock, of yellow bronze, of cylindric form, two inches and one eighth long, and three quarters of an inch in diameter ; decorated with four horizontal bands of chevrons in slight relief. This pretty little *sera* in all probability belonged to an *arcula* or a *capsula*. *Vinculum*, or shackle of a padlock, of iron, three inches and a quarter long ; provided with a double spring, which was compressed by the key before this member of the *sera* could be freed. Iron *clavis*, or key, for a padlock, four inches and seven eighths long, the flat stem ending in a ring. Iron *clavis* of a padlock, seven inches and a quarter long ; the flat stem widening towards the upper part, then narrowing and bent back into a loop in the manner shown in this *Journal*, xii, Pl. 14, fig. 2. The bits or webs of both these keys are precisely like that of the *clavis* engraved in this *Journal*, xii, Pl. 13, fig. 4. Iron *clavis* of a padlock, five inches and three quarters long, with annular web, from which the flat stem gradually widens, and then contracting towards the end, is bent into a loop. There is in the Cuming collection a key of the same type, which was exhumed in Lothbury in 1847. Iron *clavis*, or latch-key, four inches and five eighths long, with the circular web placed on a line with the fusiformed haft, which is capped by a flat-sided, oval piece perforated to be hung on a ring or loop. This is a rather rare type. Iron *clavis*, four inches and a quarter long. The web has three *dentes* or teeth, and is made at an acute angle to the stem, which latter terminates in a ring. This key strongly resembles the one given in this *Journal*, v, 140 ; and may also be compared with the specimens in vol. iii, 179 and xix, 69. In these several examples the *dentes* do not stand out, as in the *clavis Laconica* engraved in this *Journal*, xii, Pl. 13, fig. 6 ; but are set parallel with the stem. A very massive *clavis*, four inches in length. The powerful iron web is fixed in a stout *manubrium* of yellow bronze three inches in length and seven-eighths in diameter next the shaft. This handle is nearly cylindrical, surrounded by three broad flat rings, with a bulbiformed end, surmounted with a little sphere. It is highly likely that this exquisitely rare key belonged to a door in the edifice of which the knocker-handles were exhibited on the 12th of March. *Clavis* of yellow bronze, the quadrangular stem surmounted by a flat-sided and somewhat pointed

haft with knob at top. Iron *clavis* having the short quadrangular stem surmounted by a broad flat-sided haft, perforated towards the top. The three last mentioned *claves* have the *dentes* of their webs arranged as in the specimen given in this *Journal*, xii, pl. 13, fig. 5, and seem to have been designed to lift the drop-pins of locks constructed on similar principles to those still used in Egypt, and mentioned in this *Journal*, xii, 118, 120. Iron *clavis*, the solid web-shaped at the edges to fit the wards in the lock, and having a pointed broach and a kite-formed looped haft. Iron *clavis*, four inches and five-eighths long, with broach, solid web bidentated at the end, and with long kite-shaped looped handle. This key is an exact counterpart to the one engraved in this *Journal*, xii, pl. 14, fig. 1. Iron *clavis*, three inches long; the square web has two notches at the lower edge, and a cruciformed perforation above, like that seen in the key given in this *Journal*, xi, p. 64, fig. 4. The stem terminates in an annular bow. This specimen must be placed at the close of the Roman era. Iron key, six inches in length, with lozenge-shaped bow, like that shown in this *Journal*, xii, pl. 14, fig. 5. The front and lower edges of the web are cut to fit the wards of the lock. Date, early fourteenth century. Iron key, four and three quarter inches long, with similar bow to the foregoing, and of the same period. Bronze key, the cylindrical stem continued through the annular bow, a feature seldom met with in examples of the fifteenth century, to which period this specimen must be assigned.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, in offering some general observations on the importance of the group of keys submitted by Mrs. Baily, said that the sixth in the above list was of such remarkable character that he begged to direct special attention to it, for as a *Roman clavis* it was unusual in size, strength, and weight; and more novel still as being wrought in two parts, each part being of a different metal. He did not deny that ancient keys of still larger size existed (for one upwards of five inches in length is given by Montfaucon, *Antiq.* iii, p. 1, pl. 54, p. 105), nor that there were no other examples of the union of two metals in the same *clavis*; all he contended for was that such instances were of great rarity, and deserving of careful record. Mr. Cuming exhibited the bronze *manubrium* of a small key with a portion of the iron stem still affixed, which was exhumed in January, 1870, on the site of the New Post Office, St. Martin's Le Grand, and which is reminiscent of the Southwark *clavis* engraved in the *Gent. Mag.*, July, 1832, p. 17; both being unusually ornate in design. Mr. Cuming next produced the web and stem of a massive *clavis Laconica*, discovered at Nîmes, in the south of France, 1841; and which has clearly been driven into a stout haft in like way with the London example lately brought to light. This stem is upwards of two and a half inches in length, the quadrangular portion for insertion in the *manubrium* being somewhat pyramidal, and

notched along the edges to prevent its withdrawal from its holdings ; below this the shaft is cylindric, and then fore-sided ; the face of the quadrangular bit or web presenting a form which a herald might describe as a cross void, with a pellet, or rather die, in each quarter. The body of this specimen is *bronze*, with the whole surface (save where it is fractured) covered with a *white metal*. It is a fair presumption that the *manubrium* of this Nîmes key was of similar character to the one in the Baily collection, though conjecture would be futile as to its style of ornamentation.

Mr. Gordon Hills, referring to the grey tankard lately exhibited, said that the owner of that one, Mr. Stainbank, has seen in the shop of Mr. Wells, in Piccadilly, a silver gilt peg tankard of the same design as that submitted to the meeting of the 12th, but having a difference in one respect, viz., that the supposed T on the one exhibited and presumed to indicate the place where the tankard was made was certainly not T on the silver gilt tankard, but clearly some other letter. And, further, there was engraved on the lid, as far as Mr. Stainbank remembers (not having seen the tankard for two years) the name *Henricus Tudor* with the Tudor arms and a date 1480, and the word "Ebor". On the front of the body a shield was engraved bearing two coats of arms impaled, neither of the coats being like that on the lid.

Mr. Roberts exhibited the following objects, all found in London in 1873 :—Three flattish round dishes respectively five and a quarter inches diameter by one and seven-eighths deep (outside) ; five and one-eighth by one and three-quarters, and four and three-quarters by one and a quarter, of pale yellow paste, partially glazed inside with green. These are of the fifteenth century.

Three gallipots of similar ware, but with a brown glaze, slightly bellied in profile with neck and base spread outward, respectively two inches and one-eighth diameter by three high, two and a half by two and a quarter, and one and five-eighths by one and a half. Temp. Charles I.

Two medicine pots of similar paste, but with blueish grey glaze outside one inch and seven-eighths diameter by three high, and one and three quarters by two and seven-eighths, the latter having four yellow arched lines around on a lighter mottled ground, and the blue colour inside the arches forming a sept-foil. Seventeenth century, first half.

A bone apple-scoop five and a half inches long, with diaper grooves on one side of the stem, and the letter W on the opposite face. This is probably a forgery of the present century.

A piece of ivory, part of a walking stick, three inches and five-eighths long, with female screw at one end. Carved on the outside with a head and bust, with the hands clasped over the chest. The head has a turban, a moustache, and heavy earrings.

A globose gallipot of blueish white glaze, inscribed in blue letters (italics quarter of an inch high) D. Laudumey. The lip and foot extend outwards. It is two inches diameter by one and three-eighths high. The laudanum possibly remains in it. Seventeenth century and of Dutch manufacture.

An iron implement of Roman manufacture fitting into a stock. It has a tapering square haft three inches long, and half an inch square at the largest part, whence a round tapering point or spike continues three inches, but whether originally formed curved or not, it now curves so that the point is one inch and an eighth distant from the central line. This is probably an accidental curvature.

A bronze pitcher (minus the handle) of red ware and rich brown glaze inside and out, five and a half inches extreme diameter by six and three quarters high. This is of the fifteenth century.

A jar of red ware, partially glazed brown inside, slightly bellied, five and a half diameter by five seven-eighths high. Of Elizabethan date.

A seventeenth century Dutch bottle of flattened globose shape, green glass, very much encrusted with yellow, probably by immersion in a cesspool.

Mr. Cuming suggested that the curious spiked or pointed implement exhibited by Mr. Roberts might have been one of those instruments which the Romans used to stop a charge of cavalry, and called by them *murices* or *tribuli*, or in English "calthrops."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper "on Hour Glasses," which is printed at pp. 130-137 *ante*.

APRIL 23RD.

GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREAS., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following associate was announced : Mrs. W. P. Hunt, Ipswich.

Mr. H. C. Pidgeon exhibited a glass medallion found in an old brick wall at Tottenham, Middlesex, which Mr. H. Syer Cuming identified as the seal from the front of a bottle, bearing the sign of the inn for which it was made, viz., *The Goat*, and referred to seals of a like kind produced during the present session displaying the signs of *The King's Head* (Charles I), and *The George*. Mr. Cuming has a bottle seal with the sign of *The Globe*, dated 1719.

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition a highly interesting group of military relics of ancient and mediæval date, which, with few exceptions, have within the last four months been discovered in London, those of chief consequence being the following :—

Keltic axe-head of yellow bronze, three five-eighths inches in length

and two and a quarter inches wide at the edge, which has been mounted with iron, the two rivets employed in securing it remaining in the holes. The sides of the blade are bordered with double lines of incised chevrons, inclosing what may be described as a *cross-potent*. The socket for the haft is pointed above and below on either side, and decorated with two perpendicular bands of chevrons, and at the butt is a flat-faced knob like a little hammer. This rare axe-head, though not much larger than a sugar hatchet, would, when provided with its ferric edge, have inflicted a deadly wound. The combination of the two metals in the same implement brings to mind the "copper weapons tipped with tin", the discovery of which in Kent's cavern, near Torquay, is recorded in our *Journal* (ii, 173). Wilson in his *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (354), when speaking of the bronze era, mentions that in Denmark some remarkably interesting relics have been found, seemingly belonging to the very dawn of the last transition period, when iron was more precious than copper or bronze. "These include axes consisting of a broad blade of copper edged with iron, and bronze daggers similarly furnished with edges of the harder metal. Even in Denmark such examples are extremely rare, and no corresponding instance that I am aware of has yet been discovered in Britain." Since the publication of Wilson's work in 1851 there has been found in the northern bank of the Thames what seemed to be the half of a small and ancient pair of shears of bright yellow bronze, with a cutting edge of iron. Mr. H. Syer Cuming examined this specimen when in the possession of the late W. Edwards, the well known dealer in curiosities, and it and the axe-head under review must be regarded as rare instances of the discovery in London of Keltic implements of this peculiar description.

Portion of the head of a Roman standard of bronze, which may be likened to a shallow saucer five inches diameter, inverted and fixed on a socket one inch and a quarter in length and seven-eighths diameter, the interior of the latter spirally grooved to admit the worm of a screw, which may be presumed to have surmounted the staff. The convex surface of the saucer has evidently been covered with a plate of similar form, to which the *signum*, whatever it may have been, was secured. In support of this rare object being a portion of a Roman ensign, reference may be made to La Chausse's *Grand Cabinet Romain*, 116; Boyle's *Museum Britannicum*, the column of Trajan; and arch of Constantine at Rome; where *signa militaria* appear with members more or less resembling the brazen relics lately exhumed. It may be well to add that a specimen of the same form, but imperfect, was found at the same time and place with the foregoing.

Roman *fibula* or buckle of bronze for a *balteum* or sword belt, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in extreme length. The stout oblong frame is concave in its outline, with shell-like ornaments projecting from either end; and with

an *acus* or tongue moving on a central bar. Had not this fibula been discovered with Roman remains it might have been considered of much later date.

Spear-head of iron, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, which may be compared with the example found at Combe Down, Bath, and engraved in this *Journal*, xix, 69. Both these spears have divided sockets, a feature considered characteristic of the Saxon era. The blade of the London specimen is grooved on either face, not in a line with the socket, but on one side of the centre.

Six javelin heads, varying from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to upwards of 8 inches in length, the thin lanceolate blades having rather fine sharp tangs for driving into light shafts. These iron heads bear a singular resemblance to some of the South African hassagaias, and are probably examples of what the ancient Germans termed *framea*, and the Anglo-Saxons *herestral* or war dart. They were discovered with the foregoing spear-head at Blackfriars in March, 1870.

Sharp-pointed double-edged blade of a dagger, nearly $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and $1\frac{5}{8}$ wide next the copper fillet upon which the cross-guard rested. The tang is flat sided. This example much resembles one in the Faussett collection found near Ash-by-Sandwich, and also two daggers of the Merovingian epoch, engraved in Demmin's *Weapons of War*, 153, where it is stated that "this shape was used for more than eight hundred years, for it is to be found in the fifteenth century." The blade in question must, however, be referred to an early period, and may be regarded as a specimen of the *twy-edged seax* of the Anglo-Saxons, for a notice of which see this *Journal*, xiii, 205.

Part of the iron hilt of a large sword, consisting of a flat-sided oval pommel $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, by 2 2-12ths wide; and a strong flat tang Date, close of the thirteenth century. (For a perfect sword of the same period, and also in the Baily collection, see *Journal*, i, 336.)

Dagger $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with disc-shaped iron pommel $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter, and $\frac{3}{8}$ thick; the quillons of the short cross guard bent down parallel with the blade and terminating with little trefoils. The thick centered, double edged, sharp pointed blade is stamped with the letters B C. Date, close of the fourteenth century.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited four broken weapons exhumed in Smithfield in 1865. 1. Small rudely fashioned head of a glaive cut out of plate iron, a portion at the base of the blade being bent round to form an open socket, much in the manner of the hafts of the ancient weapons described in this *Journal*, xix, 104. In its present fractured state this glaive measures only 9 inches in length, but probably half of the blade is lost. It is undoubtedly a rebel weapon, and there is nothing extravagant in the idea that it may have been borne by one of the followers of Wat Tyler in 1381. 2. Upper part of a dagger of the

time of Henry VIII. The iron pommel is somewhat pyriformed, the broader portion being upwards. The quillons widen towards their ends, which are bilobed, and from the centre of the guard projects a stout *pas d'âne*, an appendage which may be traced back to the very beginning of the fifteenth century, and is conspicuous on the hilts of the sword and dagger of James IV of Scotland (1488-1513) preserved in the College of Arms. The two edged blade is 1½ inches wide next the quillons, thick in the middle and thinning off on either side. 3. Dagger, which when perfect measured between 16 and 17 inches in length. The bulbous iron pommel is encircled by a cavated ring, and appears to have been otherwise decorated. The double edged blade is 1¼ inches wide next the hilt and tapers to a sharp point, and is so deeply channelled on either side that for the greater part of its length it is almost as thin as a piece of cartridge paper, a transverse section of the blade looking like two rhombs united at their acute angles. The bruised and fractured condition of these two sixteenth century weapons indicate that they have seen rough service in *Ruffian's Hall*, as Smithfield was called in olden times. 4. Pointed end of a two-edged sword or rapier, 7½ inches in length, with a prominent ridge on either side. The upper part of this fragment appears to have been flattened subsequent to breakage. A proclamation was issued in the eighth year of Queen Elizabeth (1565-6) forbidding the wearing of any sword or rapier that should exceed the length of one yard and half a quarter in the blade, nor any dagger above the length of 12 inches in the blade. Lodge (*Ill. Br. His.* ii, 228) cites the following letter of the Lord Talbot bearing on this subject. "June 23, 1580. The French Im-basidere, Mounswer Mouiser (Malvoisier) ridinge to take the ayer, in his returne cam thowrowe Smithfield; and ther, at the bars, was steayed by those offisers that sitteth to cut sourds, by reason his raper was longer than the statute. He was in a great feaurie, and dreaue his raper; in the meane season my Lord Henry Seamore cam, and so steayed the mattr. Hir Matie. is greatlie ofended wth the ofisers, in that they wanted judgement." May not the portion of the rapier blade exhibited have been cut off at Smithfield Bars by Her Majesty's officers in obedience to the statute?

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., F.S.A. then read the following

**JOTTINGS IN MID-SOMERSET:—ATHELNEY, ALLER, AND
SEDGEWOOD.**

The relics laid on the table this evening, were gathered by me in the county named in the heading of this paper during the autumn of last year, and will in part form illustrations to facts and traditions known to and preserved by a simple and interesting people.

ATHELNEY.—The attention is at once arrested by the name Athelney,

associated as it is with the history of our great King Alfred. This lonely spot is indeed the very cradle of our history. Desolate, on a weeping autumn day, is the long drive over the flats of the Isle of Athelney—desolate the black furrowed earth, the deep sedges, and luxuriant alder copses. Thus it now appears to us much as it did in those bygone times, as to the eyes of the royal fugitive. An ancient historian of England says, “it is not an island of the sea, but a rising ground encompassed by bogs and inundations, which cannot be reached but by a boat. Here is a large wood of alders, which harbours stags, goats, and other animals. Of firm land there is about two acres containing a little monastery and dwellings for eleven monks.” This religious house was founded by the king, in grateful remembrance of his successes against the Danes and restoration to the throne. The church was supported by four piers driven into the ground, and “four circular channels were drawn around it,” the design of the builder being to protect the fabric from the winter floods and fierce westerly gales. This primitive structure was supplanted by a much more spacious, substantial, and finished work, occupying with its walls, gates, and outbuildings most of the two acres of “firm land.” No trace of the monastery remains above ground—no, not in the partial sterility of the sown field. The buildings have been thoroughly quarried, and stones of the later structure appear in the walls of the adjoining farm house. This house, the only one, stands on the edge of the “firm land.” If in a “neatherd’s” house Alfred found refuge from the immobility of things in the neighbourhood, it is far from improbable that the present structure occupies the place of that one which sheltered Alfred.

On this spot I met an extraordinary character, “John of Derby,” otherwise “John Mellor,” well known at the Taunton museum as an antiquary, and an enthusiastic worshipper of the memory of Alfred. He was searching beneath the full-leaved swedes for any relics turned out by the plough. Leave was granted for a very partial excavation near the monument. The search resulted in finding some *débris* of the chancel, tiles, broken stones, and carving: but no solid wall work. We were certainly within the church, but gained no outline of its structure. It is a place national in its character, and if trenched on a right plan, might yield interesting results. For this object my pleading was unsuccessful. I lay before you some tiles belonging to the later monastery—one of peculiar interest, commemorating by the white dove and lily branch the Immaculate Conception of our Lord; also a fragment of carved stone, coloured plaster, the base of a little vessel, a fragment of glass, nails, and a pewter platter etched in manner of majolica.

The monastery belonged to the Benedictines. The first abbot was

John of Saxony. Alfward succeeded in A.D. 1003. A line of twenty-three abbots descended to A.D. 1539, when Robert Hamlyn and eight monks surrendered to the king, who bestowed on the abbot a pension of £50 and the prebend of Long Sutton.

The revenues were valued A.D. 1444, at £98, and in A.D. 1534, at £269 : 0 : 5. The royal founder endowed it with right of pasturage on the royal moors, and freedom from taxes. The manor and site were at the suppression given to one John Clayton. The site is now a ploughed field.

Aller, Oller, or Alwar (British)—in Saxon, a treasure house or mint, but why so, even conjecture is silent—is connected by tradition with the history of Alfred. The quiet little village stands on the edge of the moor, at the foot of a picturesque range of wooded hills. The church, as is usual in these parts, is built on a slight eminence, and has on the southern front a Saxon doorway, and once, *on the door*, a large and rough carving (now at the rectory) of the pelican and its young. It was here, after his overthrow at Edington, Guthrum, the Danish leader, and many of his followers were baptised in presence of Alfred. Tradition points to a large circular lead-lined stone font, now in the church, but found some years since in digging a trench in the rectory orchard, about one-third of a mile from the church. It is, however, far more probable that baptism was administered in a sheet of water adjoining the church. The structure is dedicated to St. Andrew, with three chantries—Holy Trinity, S. Mary, and Holy Cross. But recent enlargements, made to meet the wants of population, have left untouched but little of the original structure.

In the time of the Confessor, the manor belonged to one Ellward, a Saxon. In the days of Edward II it came to the noble family of Botreaux, and has since passed to Emanuel College, Cambridge. The manorial residence of Botreaux, built it would appear in the fifteenth century, was destroyed by fire. Nothing remains of it but a mullioned window frame. Two recumbent effigies, one in the churchyard the other in the chancel, belong to this family. An extraordinary legend is connected with the Botreaux who lies in the church.

A flying dragon, in times remote, had its den on a fortified hill overhanging the Langport Road. From thence frequent annoying and fatal excursions were made up and across the valley, to the destruction of the inhabitants, whom it carried to its dreadful abode. De Botreaux determined to put an end to this state of things, and watching the departure of the dragon, ascended the hill, carrying with him his lance and a field harrow. He killed the young of the dragon off-hand, and withdrawing into the den, fortified its entrance with the harrow, spikes outermost. The dragon, naturally inconvenienced by this arrangement, endeavoured to remove the obstacles, but was received with repeated lance thrusts, and so yielded up its breath, leaving

proof to the incredulous, alike of the vastness of its organic structure and truth of the narrative, in a hole on a hillside about a quarter of a mile from its den, torn open by its hinder feet in its dying struggles. De Botreaux, who returned in triumph, hung up his lance in the church, where until recent alterations it was still to be seen, and received most justly the epithet of "good." He died as Sir Reginald, 30th July, 1420.

Very many legends of curious character are current with the people, but cannot now be given.

The rectory; an ancient religious house for secular clergy, embowered in shrubbery—covered by roses in summer, wrapped by scarlet and flame-coloured leaves in autumn—has in great manner shared the fate of the church. A perpendicular window, with fragments of ancient glazings, a turret staircase, and stone-built oratory, comprise nearly what remains of the ancient structure. It is a pity so interesting a building should have been so defaced.

I place on the table a chalice dug up on the moor by a man named Francis, in 1845. It is old Staffordshire, of very superior make and glaze.

No tradition exists of the decisive defeat in 1644 of the Royalists under Goring, by Fairfax, the Parliamentarian commander.

SEDGEMOOR.—The fatal expedition of the Duke of Monmouth still holds its place among the romantic incidents of English history; romantic, more by reason of the devotion of his western followers and surviving memories, than on any other account. And it is in truth startling, when living lips speak of Monmouth, Jeffreys, and Sedgemoor fight as of actors and actions of yesterday. There is, however, a reality in all this that not only surprises but enchains the listener.

Monmouth, exiled for participation in a former plot, landed in England as the champion of civil and religious liberty, then threatened by the acts of James II. In one month the rebellion commenced and ended. Advancing to Taunton, where he was received with open arms, Monmouth was proclaimed "King" in that town, at the corner of West Street, under the White Hart Inn, now fronting the market place. After a slight success near Bath, he withdrew to Bridgwater, and there collected his disorganised and motley force. Meanwhile the royal troops gathering at Somerton, under Faversham and Churchill, prepared to march upon him by way of Langport, Aller, and the moor, to Chedzoy. They occupied the moorland villages of Othery, Middlezoy, and Weston Zoyland, where Faversham established his head quarters. The barbarous occurrence related by Macaulay took place in a house now standing, but shortly to be removed. Monmouth and his officers beheld the march of the royalists from the first embrasure of the eastern side of the tower of St. Mary's, Bridgwater, and as eleven struck on the night of July the 5th, 1685, he rode from the castle

yard to join his devoted army. The march was directed over the Parrett and down the High Street, turning at the bottom to the left, and reaching Chedzoy on the Moor about one o'clock. The history of the fight is well known, as is the probable treachery of the guide in stopping the advance behind the Bussex Rhine, a deep and impassable watercourse, and the very gallant stand made by the Mendip miners and farming men, who fought not without a temporary success, and died where they fought. Monmouth fled (avoiding Bridgwater) in the direction of the Bristol Channel. Mounted on a white horse, he drew rein on a hillock not far from the field, to view the pitiable spectacle of the royal cavalry sabring his followers. The hillock was identified to me by one whose family at the period lived at Weston Zoyland.

The prisoners were crowded into the fine old church ; twenty-two next day were hanged in the village and along the Bridgwater Road, and four in the village of Gommath, of which probably they were natives. Faversham is well remembered, but disreputably so.

Two dishes of Moorish lustre-ware (and not Persian as stated by Macaulay) once used at Jeffreys' table, are still preserved in the Taunton Museum.

Faversham was surprised by the rebel attack, and being roused from sleep, and retaining a great idea of the proprieties, would not mount until he had found his mislaid wig, by which time the battle was nearly over. The blackest imputation against him lies, however, in his broken faith and cruelty to his prisoners. The boundaries of the well-remembered race for life—a life promised to a prisoner provided a certain feat of swiftness was accomplished—were pointed out to me—“It was done, sir,” said my informant, “for he ran from this stone to yon stone, three-quarters of a mile, as fast as a fast horse, and then Faversham broke his word and hanged him.” This act of villainy is historic.

The following is extracted from the *Register of Weston Zoyland* :—

“An account of the flight that was in Langmoor, the sixth of July, 1685, between the king's army and the D. of M.

“The iniadgement between one and two of the clock in the morning. It continuowd near one hour and half. Their was kild upon the spott of the king's soulders sixtann ; ffive of them buried in the church, the rest in the churchyeard, and they had all Christian buriall. One hundred or more of the king's souldiers wounded, of wch wounds many died, of wch we have no certain account. There was kild of the rebels upon the spott abounte 300 ; hanged with us 22, of wch 4 were hanged in Gommath. About 500 prisoners bro' into our church, of which there was 79 wounded, and 5 of them died of there wounds in our church.

“The D. of M. beheaded, July 15, A.D. 1685.

“Mem⁴

THOMAS PERRATT, A.M., Clerk.”

The memory of Jeffreys is held in transmitted and general detestation. He went to Taunton, saying, "it would not be his fault if Taunton were not depopulated;" and he did his best by hanging and transportation to verify his threat.

"Here, sir," continued my companion, "Monmouth was proclaimed king, and this house was the White Hart Inn" (an old timbered building, now an extensive china and glass store). "Monmouth was here, and then Jeffreys came, and made it his quarters. Where the Duke was proclaimed, he set up the gallows first outside the house, and tried his prisoners quick enough, and sent them to the gallows at once."

In recently making a sewer through West Street, the supporting spurs of the two uprights of the tree were found imbedded in cobwebs and ancient dust. Long after the fight the village children "fought the battle o'er again." "Soho," the rebel watchword, was used by the one—another band represented the royalists. It is not unlikely the weapon I exhibit belonged to a private in the contending ranks, and was hidden and forgotten by the village Hotspur, until brought to light in September 1872.

I may perhaps be permitted to relate a touching incident in connexion with Sedgemoor. Wishing to find a relic of the fight, we employed a somewhat intelligent old man in the enquiry. The last found cannon ball had, however, been taken away, and after a prolonged absence were brought us a skull and some bones, which he and another had just disinterred from the moor. The skull was that of a young and vigorous man—a rebel, because the soldiers were buried in the church or its yard. Touching, as I have said, were the thoughts evoked by the contemplation of his remains; for though nameless, we knew something of his history. He had mustered in Bridgwater Street, and heard the marching order in the tones of St. Mary's bell. His march was marked by the tongues of the lonely moorland village clocks—twelve, one, and then the fight, the hope of victory, the stubborn resistance, and dogged courage, which chose death rather than flight.

I lay on the table two relics: the one a broken sword (a Ferrara blade), thrust in haste into the buckhorn handle of a large knife, the projecting tang having been hammered to secure it. This extemporised weapon was preserved in the family of the Bastables, for generations resident at Weston Zoyland. I also exhibit a wooden popgun which I found in a piscina in Weston Zoyland Church.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that the romantic career of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth possessed an unfading charm to every lover of history, and he felt assured that the Rev. Mr. Mayhew's narrative would be read with deep interest by our members when it appeared in

the *Journal*. Hitherto the only mementos of the duke which had been brought to the notice of the Association, were from the collection of our late lamented president Lord Boston, and consisted of 1st, a duplicate of a letter which Monmouth as chancellor of the University of Cambridge addressed to the vice-chancellor in 1674; 2nd, a miniature of the duke painted in oil on copper; and 3rd, another of his natural daughter Henrietta Crofts, Duchess of Bolton; of which a description may be found in the *Journal* (xx, 340, xxi, 355, xxv, 166). Of personal relics of Monmouth few perhaps now remain, but one at least is preserved by the noble family of Buccleugh at Dalkeith, namely the saddle which his royal father gave him when he was appointed to the first troop of lifeguards in 1668. Some few arms used by the combatants at Sedgemoor, July 5th, 1685, have been preserved in different places, and the old *Catalogues* of the Tower of London mention "a piece of scythe placed on a pole, being a specimen of weapons taken at the battle of Sedgemoor, in the reign of King James II." A representation of this rustic glaive is given in a plate of Tower weapons, published by Alexander Hogg. In popular language every hangman is called *Jack Ketch*, but few seem aware that the original Jack was the clumsy wretch who so cruelly mangled the poor duke on the scaffold erected on Tower Hill, July 15th, 1685.

Mr. Thomas Morgan read a paper on "Odinism in Scandinavia, Denmark, and Britain," which is printed at pp. 138-172 *ante*.

Respecting some of the details of the paper, Mr. Henry Godwin, F.S.A., referring to the age attributed by Mr. Morgan to Stonehenge, reminded the meeting that Dr. Thurnam and others thought the structure to be not wholly of one age. Mr. S. I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix*, and the chairman raised some question as to the force of the evidence, cautiously drawn as it was by Mr. Morgan from such history as that which the author of the paper had designated as from "the romancer Geoffrey of Monmouth." The chairman pointed out that the largest stones of Stonehenge are of a native sandstone, even now to be got on many hill sides in the vicinity, and needing neither magic nor extraordinary skill to bring them to Stonehenge.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

14TH MAY.

JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Hon. Treasurer read his annual Report as follows:

"I was enabled, last year, to congratulate the Society on the increased amount of the income from the most important source of our financial welfare, viz. the annual subscriptions. It is highly satisfactory that I

have, on this occasion, to announce a still further increase from this source. In 1871 the subscriptions and donations amounted to £339:19:3. In 1872 they have reached the sum of £408 10s., including the entrance fees. I should be too sanguine if, with our present list of members, I led you to think that we could expect as large a sum to be announced on this head in the next balance-sheet; because in 1872 the weak consciences of members have responded with more than usual promptitude to notices of arrear, and hence it is that we are actually some £40 or £50 better off than the regular annual subscriptions would have made us. In this state of somewhat exceptional prosperity I think it will not be uninteresting nor unprofitable if I invite you to consider the amount of our receipts during the whole period of the existence of the Association. In so doing I will travel backwards from the present to the remoter time.

" We have, since 1845, had two chief sources of income,—1st, the subscriptions, with donations; 2nd, the surplus derived from the liberality of the locality where the Congress is held, and the sale of Congress tickets to members and others. These sources have produced as follows (omitting shillings and pence), according to the reports printed every year in the *Journals*, viz. :

In 1872, subscriptions	£408	Wolverhampton Congress	£3
" 1871	340	Weymouth	70
" 1870	252	Hereford	46
" 1869	357	St. Alban's	113
" 1868	331	Cirencester	46
" 1867	390	Ludlow	112
" 1866	425	Hastings	50
" 1865	262	Durham	254
" 1864	266	Ipswich	61
" 1863	344	Leeds	63
" 1862	271	Leicester	43
" 1861	297	Exeter	84
" 1860	301	Shrewsbury	195
" 1859	280	Newbury	142
" 1858	271	Salisbury	46
" 1857	304	Norwich	22
" 1856	292	Bridgewater	16
" 1855	325	Isle of Wight	15
" 1854	366	Chepstow	18
" 1853	371	Rochester	38
" 1852	342	Newark	28
" 1851	378	Derbyshire	14
" 1850	403	Lancashire	28
" 1849	366	Chester	64
" 1848	403	Worcester	53
" 1847	401	Warwick Congress, and is not stated separately	

In 1846	"	£572	Gloucester Congress	£23
" 1845	"		Winchester	72
" 1844, no subscriptions	"		Canterbury	162
" 1843 the Society founded.	No subscriptions required.			

In the year 1851 the Association had a balance of £29 ; but in the following years there was a deficit, which in 1854 amounted to £222 by the accumulated deficits of three years. In 1855 a great part of this (£167) was wiped off by a subscription raised amongst the members, and which sum is not included in the above receipts. The rest was cleared off subsequently by certain members compounding for their subscriptions.

“ It will be noticed that in only one year have the subscriptions ever reached the sum obtained in 1872, viz. in 1866 ; and the proceeds of 1866 were thus high for the same reason that has made the corresponding sum appear large now, viz., that arrears were then largely paid up ; much more largely than now, for in the preceding year, during the illness of the late Treasurer, the in-flow had been only £262. The subscriptions have varied, in the course of twenty-eight years, between £252 and £425, the average of the whole being £333. The regular position which the Society has maintained in this respect is certainly remarkable, as you will remember I estimated our due receipts from this source, two years ago, at £350. The unusually large result of the subscriptions in 1872 has its special use in counterbalancing the very small pecuniary result of the Wolverhampton Congress ; the smallest result from the like source that we have ever recorded, and the more remarkable that the Congress was in many respects a successful one.

“ This deficiency of pecuniary return in the Wolverhampton Congress is partly to be accounted for by the fact that the Council sanctioned a much larger outlay in preparatory and other expenses than has been customary, and that the local expenses were unavoidably and unusually heavy.

“ I am anxious that the principle which has been so long usefully acted upon should not be lost sight of, viz., that the expenditure should, as far as possible, be made of visible and permanent effect by the improvement of our publications, and the maintenance of a good standard, in quantity and quality, of the illustrations. It has especially been held that the proceeds of the Congress shall be used to enhance the illustrations of the local antiquities.

“ In every other item of expenditure the year has been an economical one, and the charges are less than in 1871. The Auditors show, therefore, a balance in hand, at the end of 1872, of £50 : 13 : 10½, to compare with a balance last year of £69 : 6 : 4½. The total expenditure for the year has been £454 : 12 : 9.

“ For one minute I beg leave to return to a subject which I men-

tioned just now, that of the illustrations to the *Journal*. The new methods adopted have the advantage not only of economy, but they produce, by photography, a representation of the subject with an absolute fidelity scarcely attainable by the hand of any artist or draftsman. No doubt this leads occasionally to a sacrifice of artistic beauty in the plate; but experience shows that this sacrifice does and will grow less; and I have had the pleasure to read to the Council letters from abroad, as well as from very competent judges amongst ourselves, spontaneously congratulating us on our photographic plates. I believe, moreover, that our example has led other publications into the same method of illustrations. There are, of course, subjects to which this method is unsuited. A dilapidated or obscured object may demand the skill of an intelligent hand to represent what is perfectly recognisable, but yet so veiled that the sun-picture would represent mere obscurity.

In the course of 1872 twenty-three associates have been elected, of whom the Wolverhampton Congress contributes a considerable proportion, and to which we have to add seven Wolverhampton members of the Congress who have become temporary subscribers. Within the same period the Society has lost by death, so far as I am informed, eight members and by withdrawal thirteen members. The Council has removed the names of five members whose subscriptions exceeded four years in arrear.

The deceased members are J. J. Macintyre, Esq.; W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A.; Mrs. Prest; Dr. Charles Rooke; Thomas Brewer, Esq.; R. R. Grove Lowe, Esq.: John Moore, Esq.; and John Knight, Esq. They were all very old members. Except the first-named, their membership dated from the commencement or the very first years of the Association. We could not help paying a tribute of regard to the memory of Mr. Black, when his loss was fresh upon us at our last annual meeting, and our expressions now seasoned by time will convey no less warmth of regret. To the intelligent interest of Mrs. Prest in our proceedings we owe the introduction of several members. Mr. Lowe of St. Alban's and Mr. J. Moore, of Yeovil, were zealous antiquaries and were frequent contributors to the pages of the *Journal* in its earlier years. The interest of Mr. Moore, who was of acknowledged eminence in the medical profession, and his correspondence with us, were maintained to the last though he had reached the great age of eighty-eight years. To Mr. Knight, of Henley Hall, Ludlow, a relative of our Vice-President, Sir Charles Boughton, we were indebted for very many years for an unceasing flow of liberality, and when annually he sent a ten or a five pound note to our funds he desired me in one of his letters to make no mention of thanks, but simply to acknowledge to him alone the due arrival of the remittance.

GORDON M. HILLS,

Hon. Treasurer.

May 14, 1873.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31ST DEC. 1872.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Balance due to the Association at the audit of 1871	69	6	4½	Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	230	17	6
Annual and Life-Subscriptions	408	11	0	Illustrations to the same	116	16	3
Balance of Wolverhampton Congress	2	13	6	Miscellaneous printing	9	9	0
Sale of publications	24	15	9	Rent, for 1871, of rooms at Sackville-street, and clerk's salary	67	10	0
Total credit to the Association	£505	6	7½	Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	16	14	1
				Petty expenses, carriage of antiquities, postages, advertisements	9	17	11
				Stationery and stamps	6	8	0
				Total expenditure, 1872	£454	12	8
				" Balance in hands of Treasurer	60	13	10½
					£505	6	7½

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

(Signed) *{THOMAS MORAN.
J. O. PHILLIPS.*

April 28, 1873.

Mr. Planché moved and Mr. G. R. Wright seconded the adoption of the report, and the thanks of the meeting having been unanimously voted to Mr. Hills for his valuable services as Hon. Treasurer during the year, that gentleman read the petition of the Association in support of Sir John Lubbock's bill for the preservation of national monuments, which was then signed by the chairman on behalf of the Association for presentation to Parliament.

The chairman having been compelled by other engagements to vacate the chair, his place was occupied by J. R. Planché, Esq., *Somerset Herald*, V.P., and the ballot for the officers and council for the ensuing year having been taken, the following noblemen and gentlemen were declared to be duly elected:—

President.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

Vice-Presidents.

[*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G., THE EARL OF CARNARVON, THE EARL BATHURST, THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH, THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L., SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BART., SIR W. C. MEDLYCOTT, BART., D.C.L., JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A., GEORGE TOMLINE, M.P., F.S.A.]

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM	JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., F.R.A.S.
SIR J. G. WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.	J. R. PLANCHÉ, <i>Somerset Herald</i>
H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT.	REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A.	REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.	THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

GORDON M. HILLS.

Secretaries.

E. LEVIER, M.A., F.S.A.	E. ROBERTS, F.S.A.
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Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Palaeographe.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

Draughtsman.

G. F. TENISONWOOD, F.S.A.

Council.

GEORGE ADE	J. W. GROVER
GEORGE E. ADAMS, M.A., F.S.A., <i>Londoner Herald</i>	W. CALDER MARSHALL, R.A.
THOMAS BLASHILL	REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.
CECIL BRENT, F.S.A.	THOMAS MORGAN
J. DE HAVILLAND, F.S.A., <i>York Herald</i>	R. N. PHILIPPS, LL.B., F.S.A.
WILLIAM HENRY COPE	J. S. PRENE, F.S.A.
JOHN H. FOLEY, R.A.	J. W. PREVITÉ
JOHN GREY, Q.C.	S. ISAACSON TUCKER, <i>Rouge Croix</i> .
AGUSTUS GOLDSMID, F.S.A.	

Auditors.

J. ORCHARD PHILLIPS, F.R.S., F.S.A.

H. W. HENFREY.

Mr. George R. Wright, Hon. Curator and Librarian, read a letter he had drawn up in compliance with a vote passed by the Council and addressed to the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, relative to the preservation of York Gate and other national antiquities within the jurisdiction of the Board. The terms of the letter having been agreed to, it was signed by the chairman on behalf of the meeting, with a view to its being forwarded to the proper quarter.

Votes of thanks having been passed to Lord Dartmouth, as President of the Association for the past year, for the great kindness and attention which he and his family had shown to the members and their friends during the Wolverhampton Congress; to the officers and members of the council; and to Messrs. Heywood and Planché as chairmen of the meeting, Mr. Hills read a draft programme of the proposed proceedings of the Sheffield Congress, and said that he hoped that by the end of June full particulars would be in the hands of the members.

Proceedings of the Congress.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7TH.

THERE was a considerably larger gathering this morning than that which assembled at Lichfield on the preceding day, and the procession of vehicles conveying the party from the Swan was headed by Major Thorneycroft's handsome "drag".

The first point of interest was the old house and chapel at Longbirch, said to have been erected in the middle of the sixteenth century, by a Mrs. Giffard, of Black Ladies. Here, thanks to the Giffard family, the Roman Catholic Vicars Apostolic of this part of the country resided until a change in the government of the Roman Catholic Church in England superseded their office. Longbirch is now a farmhouse, and the chapel tells only of the different views taken by our forefathers of the great question of civil and religious liberty from that held in these days.

A rapid drive past Chillington, and a hasty look at the remains of Giffard's Cross there, brought the party to Brewood. Here the church would have afforded a rich field for archaeological disquisition, had time permitted; the original building having been so patched and altered that it admits of great doubt as to what it originally was. But as the engagements of the day were so heavy only a short time could be spent here, during which the Rev. E. Wrottesley told all that time would permit him to tell relative to the church. He said that he wished that he could have introduced the Association to a church less disfigured and less deformed; but he readily admitted on behalf of the much abused Puritans that they were not the people who did the greatest mischief here. It was chiefly done by the mistaken zeal of those who desired to do everything for the glory of God, but who had unhappily no guiding hand to direct them. There was no relic of the Saxon church which was supposed to have been erected there. He thought the earlier portion of the chancel in which they then stood was built about 1199. They would be able to see for themselves outside all that there remained of this early part of the church. They

would remark that all the buttresses were gone except two; and that the whole of the wood mouldings had been taken out of the windows. The church was supposed to consist originally of transverse gables like St. Giles's at Oxford; and upon this supposition an architect who was consulted as to the restoration of the church had contributed a design, with which however Mr. Street, the well known London architect, disagreed, and he prepared another and a different plan. It was supposed that the church underwent extensive repairs about the year 1320 or 1340, and it was believed that up to 1827 the chancel was divided from the nave by a screen outside the chancel arch. The west window was much admired for the depth of its recess. The oldest register of the church was dated 1562, and the series since was quite complete.

These registers were examined in the vestry, and found to be in a remarkably fine state of preservation.

Mr. Planché, who had been asked to describe the tombs, said it was an awkward compliment to pay to a man to ask him to describe monuments he had never seen before. He had simply come there for the first time with the rest of the party; and though it did not take long to look at the tombs, yet he did not even know to whose memory the tombs were erected. It was plainly to be seen that none of the monuments were earlier than the sixteenth century. The earliest stood on the left side of the chancel and presented a very fine representation of the armour of the period; while the female figure showed what was called the female hood. The figures in the other monuments were remarkably interesting. There was one extremely important fact to be borne in mind in relation to these and all other like effigies—that they were always represented in exactly the costume of the period in which the monuments were erected; thus, if a landed proprietor erected a monument to one of his ancestors, the effigy of his ancestor was represented as dressed in the costume of the time in which the monument was erected, so that the monument gave an exact specimen of the costume of the age in which they were erected, while on the other hand the costume of an effigy enabled the archæologist to decide the exact date of the monument bearing the effigy.

The vicar showed the visitors the curious monument to Mortimer, from whom the Earls of Ducie sprang, and that to one of the Levisons, while Mr. Smythe pointed out the resting places of two Vicars Apostolic of the Roman Catholic Church.

A pleasant drive to Boscobel succeeded, the party contenting themselves with a look at Blackladies *en route*, time not permitting them to make a call. At Boscobel Mr. Harrison Ainsworth, the popular novelist and author of the romance of that name, read some extracts from that portion of his work which describes the place, and relates how the

Pendrils inhabited the place when Charles II found shelter there in the famous oak, whose place is now supplied by an off-shoot. He explained that pressure of other engagements had prevented his writing the paper set down to his name, and good humouredly urged amid the approving smiles of his auditors, that as the historic interest attaching to the place was of so romantic a character, there could be thought be no objection to the romantic colour which he had imparted to the relation of its story.

Having finished his most interesting narrative, Mr. Ainsworth played the part of *cicerone* to admiration, and showed the party over the house, and the secret of the apartment which had saved the life of Charles II, and led to such important historical events.

Mr. Planché remarked that he himself had an acquaintance with a descendant of the Pendrils; for when a boy he visited one of them who was then living and enjoying the royal pension at Pimlico, London.

Major Thornéycroft said when he was a little boy he went to school with a Pendril whose parents had the royal pension.

Captain Perry said there were descendants of the Pendrils still in existence, and receiving the pension.

The party then had a most enjoyable drive through Weston Park, which is the finest park in the county, to Weston Church.

Here the chief interest centred in the dilapidated stained glass of the east window, and two remarkable effigies in painted wood in the walls on each side of the communion table, and here the accuracy of the principle as to costume laid down by Mr. Planché a short time previously in Brewood Church, as stated above, was most satisfactorily tested. The effigy in the left hand wall is that of Hamo de Weston, a Knight Templar, and bearing date 1188. Mr. Planché, at once judging by the costume on the effigy alone, treated this date as having been assigned without any sufficient reason, and said it was at least a century later. The apparel, that of a Knight Templar, was of the time of Edward I. The surcoat, with knee-caps, which first introduced plated armour and other peculiarities of dress upon the figure, were all of the thirteenth century. The purse hanging to the girdle seemed a great curiosity to all present, no one ever having seen such a one on a figure of the period before—it appeared like an ordinary leather purse tied and suspended by cord, much like those still in use by farmers who pay no heed to fashion. When the Vicar, the Rev. John R. O. Bridgman, arrived he confirmed the opinion of Mr. Planché as to the mistake in the date upon the tomb, and said that opinion was confirmed by the pedigree, all doubt about which the wisdom of the archaeologists present had assisted him to clear up. The figures of the coloured glass window were also fully shown to have the correctness of the principle Mr. Planché had laid down. Further confirma-

tion was found in the effigy of Hugh de Weston, another Knight Templar, in the other wall, dated 1304, with indications of a slight development in dress that had taken place by that time. This effigy was exceedingly rudely carved.

Mr. Roberts pointed out that the portion of the church in which these figures were found, was the oldest, and that the other part had evidently been built upon the original foundation. The earliest part was the window already alluded to, while the tower was at least a century later, and of the perpendicular form. The rest of the building was about 1660.

The association then resumed a most pleasant progress through the park to Patshull, giving but a hurried glance from the road at Tong Castle.

At Patshull the association received a right hearty and right noble welcome at the hands of its President. The whole suite of handsome apartments were thrown open to them, and the Countess and family joined in doing the honours of the house most courteously to its archaeological guests. Luncheon was served in the supplementary dining hall that was erected for the festivities on the recent coming of age of Viscount Lewisham, and which was still most tastefully decorated with wreaths of flowers. The entertainment was abundant and *recherché*. All speechifying was prohibited, the President remarking that he had the members of the Association there as his private guests, and that he hoped therefore to treat everyone present as though he were a personal friend. It was agreed, however, that it would be most discourteous and ungrateful for the Association to leave the house of their most hospitable entertainer and his family without returning their thanks to them for all their kindness and courtesy, and their healths were accordingly proposed by Mr. E. Levien, one of the hon. secretaries of the Association, who remarked that the noble Earl had in his inaugural address said a great deal in depreciation of himself, but notwithstanding that he was sure that they would agree with him that in that point at least he was scarcely to be believed. They had learned from his inaugural address how well up he was in archaeology, and now they knew from experience that he was equally master of those acts of kindness and hospitality which indeed were his "second nature", and which no archaeologist affected to despise.

Lord Dartmouth briefly and pleasantly acknowledged the thanks of his guests, not only repeating to them that they were most heartily welcome, but pressing upon the association the desirability of their paying another visit to Patshull and Staffordshire, assuring them that their present visit could not exhaust the archaeological interest of the latter, or the welcome of the former.

His lordship then conducted the party to Patshull Church, and

pointed out some curious remains, including a cross, found in digging into what were once the foundations of the old church, and the defensive portions of the old mansion. The remains, however, were not in a sufficient state of preservation to enable any precise dates to be assigned to them.

The prognostications of a storm were now so certain, and the road said to be so indifferent, that it was resolved to abandon the intention to pay a visit to the Roman station at Chesterton ; of which, however, the Rev. H. J. Ward of Bridgnorth gave an account in the hall, illustrating his remarks by a well executed plan of the station. He said that though called "Roman" in the programme of their proceedings (and that designation seemed confirmed by other observations), still the decision as to the character of the remains was only inferential, for the works indicated rather a British than a Roman origin. The camp was adapted to the border lines of the station, with two or more concentric ditches, with walks of loose stones filled up with earth and sand. This led to a difference of opinion as to whether the camp were a British or a Roman station. Hartshorne, in his *Salopian Antiquities*, adduced etymological reasons in favour of the supposition that it had belonged to the British, but still left the question undecided. Mr. Ward said that his own opinion rather combined the two, as there were evidences of a Roman road in the immediate neighbourhood of the camp ; and he thought that the Romans, in their march through the country, found here a British camp, which they adopted first as *a castra explorativa*, and subsequently, when they had reduced the country, as a *castra aestiva*. Whether this was so or not, it would be impossible to say until the place were excavated. The owner, Mr. Pritchard, was willing to make excavations, if any competent person or persons would direct him as to the best mode of proceeding, and any representation of that Association would have great weight with him. Hence it was to be regretted that the Association could not visit it.

Mr. Hills expressed the thanks of those present to Mr. Ward, and hoped that he would, at some future time, embody his views in a paper which the Association would print with their transactions. The question as to the excavations he (Mr. Hills) would bring under the consideration of the Association.

Mr. Roberts remarked that a British encampment with a Roman name and Roman remains was no novelty, and was easily explained, for Roman conquerors were quite as ready as modern conquerors to seize and keep the possessions of the people they conquered wherever and whenever they found that it was advantageous to do so. This was no more surprising than the fact that they found Christian churches where there had been heathen temples ; and, in fact, it seemed to have been a rule to keep consecrated ground for consecrated purposes, how-

ever much the faith and the rites might differ. The theory of the double occupation received support from the fact that the Romans were never able thoroughly to assimilate themselves with the population of Britain, and had to hold the country by military rule ; and so, upon reducing a stronghold, they had to garrison it to maintain their conquest, and hold the country in subjection.

Mr. Ward suggested, just as the British in India hold the hill-forts of that country.

Mr. Roberts said the Romans seemed to have assimilated themselves more with the population of England than we had succeeded in doing with that of India, as was shown by the infusion of the Roman tongue in our native speech.

The party then took leave of Patshull, intending to visit Pattingham Church, which owes so much to their noble President ; but the heavy, driving rain urged them to proceed, and get into Wolverhampton without delay. They reached their destination, pleased with their day's excursion, by half past six.

At the meeting in the evening, at the Town Hall, J. R. Planché, Esq., Somerset Herald, and Vice-President of the Association, occupied the chair, and there was a numerous attendance of ladies and gentlemen, members of the Association, and others. The Chairman commenced the proceedings by calling upon Mr. E. Levien, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Sec., to read a paper "On Early Religious Houses in Staffordshire", which will be printed hereafter.

The Chairman (Mr. Planché) next read a paper "On the Family of the Giffords", which is printed at pp. 58-68 *ante*.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, Hon. Palæographer to the Association, whilst thanking Mr. Planché for his excellent paper, suggested that the etymology of the name seemed to point to a Saxon origin. The latter part of the name ("ard") was to be found in the names of many old Saxon personages, such as Hardicanute, Harding, Wulfheard, Gutard (abbot of St. Augustine's in 787), and many others. He inclined to the opinion that the name originated, as was very common in former times, from some peculiarity either in the personal appearance or character of the founder of the family.

Mr. Planché, in reply, said the only objection to that theory (and it was a very strong objection) was this, that the word "Giffard" was to be found in the Norman language of the time, and also in the old Latin, but that it could not be found in the Saxon. Of course any one might construct the word out of other Saxon words, or portions of them ; but they had the word in the Norman ; and then, again, the family was distinctly Norman. He (Mr. Planché), considering this fact, could not see why they should have the Saxon appellation.

Mr. Roberts remarked that if the name was given as a *sobriquet*, for

some peculiar feature or character, to some particular member of the family, it was remarkable that it should attach to all the family.

Mr. Birch replied there were many instances in which a *sobriquet* given to some member of the family afterwards became the surname of his descendants.

The discussion then ceased, and Mr. T. Morgan read a paper on "The Briton, Roman, and Saxon in Staffordshire", which will be printed hereafter.

Votes of thanks were then accorded to the Chairman and the readers of papers, and the company separated.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 8TH.

The members and their friends, numbering between forty and fifty, left the Swan Hotel, Wolverhampton, in carriages, at nine o'clock, and soon arrived at Ludstone Hall, a splendid example of Tudor architecture. By the termination of a lease of two hundred years the hall has lately returned to the possession of the Whitmore family, by one of whom it was built, and from whom it has been purchased by Mr. J. Round Cartwright, of Sedgley, who has been residing at Ludstone, in a house in near proximity to the hall, for the past two years. He has placed the restoration of the building in the hands of Mr. R. Griffiths, of Stafford. The visitors were met here by Mr. and Mrs. Cartwright, by whom they were conducted over the premises. In the dining hall there are still to be seen the remains, but unhappily the remains only, of some fine tapestry upon the upper half of the walls. A former tenant of the premises had evidently thought to improve the oak panelling of the lower part by graining it in imitation of some wood that certainly was not oak. Nearly all the rooms are oak panelled, but, with the exception of one room on the ground floor, the panelling is plain. A fine broad oak staircase leads to the upper rooms, which are very numerous, and open out from a spacious gallery. The house is full of interest, and, as Mr. Hills said in a brief address, was a remarkably valuable example of its style. He was glad to learn that it was the intention of Mr. Cartwright, in adapting the house to a modern residence, to keep up its ancient character as completely as possible. The date given to the erection of the house was 1607, and it agreed with the character of its construction. He thought that the house they saw the previous day at Longbirch and this were coeval; but while that had been greatly altered, this remained intact. He noticed in the friezes of the rooms upstairs what was very curious, viz., some convex glass globe ornaments. The preservation of such a decoration was in his experience unique. It was very valuable, and ought to be preserved. A conversation took place as to the admissibility of plate-

glass windows in the restoration of such a house, and Mr. Hills remarked that if our forefathers had had large plates of glass they probably would not have used small panes. It was suggested that the house was built on the site of an older house, and that it was named Ludstone by one of its early tenants, Sir Francis Jones, a retired haberdasher of London, in grateful remembrance of his metropolitan associations with King Lud. Not the least interesting objects of the interior were the Dutch tiles which line one of the fire grates. The house is surrounded by a moat, which, though dry, is quite perfect.

The next object of interest was Claverley Church, upon which Mr. Roberts observed that it was very difficult to give at first sight any decided opinion. The south side appeared to be the earliest portion, and was unquestionably Norman. Though the lower portion has been extensively painted and whitewashed, what could be made out showed it to be Transitional, and in very good order, the carvings of the capitals being especially beautiful. Mr. Roberts strongly recommended the removal of the paint and the whitewash both here and from the font, which had been painted so as to make what was really a mixture of stone and plaster appear if possible like grey marble. The peculiarity of the tower was that it was on the south side of the nave and partly formed the transept. He was told the aisles and transept were private properties, which perhaps accounted for this singularity. Westward from the nave to the tower was a little earlier than the tower itself. The main body of the church was at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. The windows on each side of the chancel were very remarkable, and one of the windows was singular by having the mullions radiating from the centre. The windows in the north aisle all indicated the transition from the Perpendicular to the Decorated. There were three incised marble slabs in the church —one on the floor of the north aisle and two against the wall of the west aisle. Like all such tablets, they were of the sixteenth century. The date of that in the north aisle was hidden by the pews partly built over it, but it had an appearance of being of a date between those of the other two. Mr. Wilding, of Montgomery, directed the special attention of the members to the beautiful altar-tomb of Sir Richard Broke, with his two wives. He was Chief-Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and having been born in Shropshire, deserves note as a Shropshire worthy. It was singular, Mr. Wilding said, that in the recent Parliamentary return, procured by Mr. Layard at the instance of the Society of Antiquaries, no notice had been taken, among the tombs of the Chief-Judges, of either this tomb or one of Sir Thomas Bromley, in the parish church of Wroxeter, in that county (Salop). Both were Shropshire men, and each a Chief-Justice. Sir Thomas Bromley was private secretary to Henry VIII, was born at Worthin,

and ultimately became Chief-Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and one of the executors of this monarch. He purchased from Henry VIII the fine estate of Eyton, in Wroxeter parish, where he died. He was the great-grandfather, through the maternal line, of the celebrated Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and George Herbert the poet. Sir Robert Broke is well known among lawyers as the author of *Broke's Abridgment*. Mr. Wilding merely mentioned this to show that among other accidental omissions in the recent report no notice whatever was taken of these two Shropshire worthies, the one a Chief-Judge of Queen's Bench, and the other of Common Pleas. The tomb of Chief-Judge Broke was examined, and is a fine specimen of the monumental marbles of the sixteenth century. By the side of the effigy of Broke himself, who died in 1558, and who we learn from the antique lettering was Recorder of the City of London ere he attained the dignity of Chief Justice, were those of his two wives; while in as many tablets surrounding the tomb are the figures of a numerous progeny of their children. A hope was expressed that these tablets with which the dates are hidden beneath the pews would be removed to some part of the church where they may be more easily seen. Leaving the church the party gathered round an ancient market cross, which is now in the churchyard. It had once stood in the centre of the village, was much higher, and had more steps to its pediment. The legend runs that it was raised to commemorate the disappearance of a great plague that arose upon the drying up of the surrounding marshes. The date the legend gives is the twelfth century, but it was thought more probable that it was about a century later.

Upon quitting Claverley, a charming ride of about five miles brought the party to the village of Quatford, picturesquely situated on the banks of the Severn. The church, built on a high eminence, was the first object of investigation. The Rev. G. L. Wasey, the vicar, met the party at the church gates, and conducted them over the sacred edifice. The rev. gentleman read a very interesting paper, of which the following is a brief summary.

The early history of Quatford, the name of which is probably derived from the old British word "coed", or wood, can be traced with certainty to a very early date. There seems to be no reason to doubt that it is the place referred to by the old chroniclers, Matthew of Westminster and Florence of Worcester, under the name of *Quantebriga*, as the spot where a party of Danes, defeated by Alfred in 896, retired, and having intrenched themselves with the greatest possible celerity, passed here a very uncomfortable winter (*satis duram hiemem*). A hill near the church has from time out of mind been called the "Danish Camp", or "Camphill", and another ford half a mile up the river, still preserves the name of "Danesford". It

is mentioned in Domesday, that a hundred and eighty years later Roger Montgomery, first Earl of Shrewsbury, built Quatford Castle, on the edge of Morfe Forest and overhanging the river, as was the fashion of ancient castles. It would command the ford on one side, and on the other the bridge, which, if it did not exist before, he must then have added,—for the bridge, and the meadows between it and the opposite rising ground, which Earl Roger obtained in exchange from the monks of Wenlock, are to this day in the township of Quatford; and though separated from it by the Severn, are expressly mentioned in the deed of endowment of Quatford church, a copy of which was produced. The bridge was probably destroyed in 1102, when the earl's son, Robert de Belesme, rebelled against Henry II. This is the origin of the name of Bridgnorth, being the bridge north of the old bridge at Quatford. The church was erected by Earl Roger Montgomery, to fulfil a vow made by his second wife, Adeliza, daughter of Everard de Puiset, one of the chief nobles of France, whom he married in 1082. Tradition says that during a stormy passage from France, Adeliza made a vow in consequence of a dream revealed by a priest in her train, that if permitted to see her husband she would build a church on the spot where she met him. The place specified in the dream was one near a hollow, and where the wild swine sheltered. The vow, as the legend states, was fulfilled by the Earl, to whom the story was related; and at a very remarkable oak, about a quarter of a mile from the church, the meeting is supposed to have taken place. The centre of this tree has for ages been entirely gone, and though one hardly ventures to suggest it, yet from the well authenticated facts respecting the extraordinary age of a few celebrated trees, not only in Europe, but in Africa, by Dr. Livingstone, it is not utterly beyond the verge of possibility that this may be the identical oak near which the church was originally built. While speaking of this old oak, the rev. gentleman incidentally alluded with regret to a row of fine pollard oaks near to it many hundred years old, one of them thirty feet in circumference, and with a seat inside the trunk, which would hold several persons, which had been ruthlessly cut down last week by the proprietor simply to "straighten the fences". That the old church was of Norman architecture is clear, but only a portion of the chancel, including a fine old Norman arch, remains. This, however, is singularly interesting, on account of a peculiar material, called in German "Tofstein", and in Italian "Tufa", being introduced. It is a light, porous looking stone, and varies much in texture, and, though soft to work and very friable, yet is an exceedingly durable substance for building. A curious specimen of tufa, with a perfectly preserved snail-shell imbedded in it, was shown to the visitors. The old encaustic tiles in the chancel were much admired by all present, the colours and patterns being very

effective, and the tiles as good as when laid hundreds of years ago. Mr. Roberts made a few brief remarks as to the church. He stated that the most interesting feature was the inclination of the walls outward. This bulging of the walls was a common occurrence in Norman churches, owing to the weight of their roofs; but the inclination here did not arise from that cause, but appeared to be a designed characteristic of the building, for on the outside they were perpendicular. Mr. Levien remarked that the existence of the deed of endowment was a most satisfactory fact, from an archaeological point of view, because it conveyed the church and left no doubt as to the year in which it was built—a point about which archaeologists were apt to differ in relation to old churches. Mr. Wasey afterwards conducted the party to the Danish encampment, which is immediately opposite the church, and is on the summit of a bluff rock presenting a precipitous front to the river Severn. After this interesting spot, which commands extensive views of the neighbouring scenery, had been duly examined and commented upon, the party left for Bridgnorth, not, however, before thanking Mr. Wasey for his kindness, and regretting that they should have to forego the pleasure of inspecting Morville and Aston-Eyre churches, under Mr. Wasey's guidance, in consequence of there not being sufficient time.

The next place to be visited was Bridgnorth, where the first object of interest was the house in which Bishop Percy, the editor of the *Reliques*, was born. It is an old, half-timbered building, with a date of 1581, having been, as a quaint inscription within the house shows, erected in that year by Robert Forester.

The party then proceeded to the Squirrel Inn, where they partook of luncheon; and after that, under the guidance of the Rev. H. G. Ward, Head Master of the Grammar School, they visited various places of archaeological interest in the town. The old, half-timbered Market Hall received a passing notice.

St. Leonard's Church, which has been so finely restored, was described by Mr. Ward, who said the alteration had been made strictly in accordance with the conception of the original plan, which had been of the geometrical style of the latter part of the thirteenth or the commencement of the fourteenth century. The north wall of the old church was made into a powder-magazine for the Parliamentarians, and exploded by the Royalists from the neighbouring castle. After it had been so destroyed, it was not rebuilt, but was bricked up. The timbered roof was restored in the style of Charles II. The only parts that remained of the old church were the walls of the chancel; and in digging the foundation for the restoration, the remains of a still earlier and Norman church than that displaced were found. The tower is now in course of completion by public subscription. It was stated

that the church was the widest in England, the nave being twelve feet wider than it is long. It was also pointed out that the axis of the chancel was not in accordance with that of the nave, and that this had been purposely done in keeping with the orientation of the sun on the festival day of St. Leonard, to whom the church was dedicated.

The remains of the Castle keep then became the object of general interest, Mr. Knight giving an admirable *résumé* of the history of its foundation by Robert de Belesme, son of Roger de Montgomery, to whom the surrounding country was given by William the Conqueror. He removed his people from Quatford, and founded the Castle in 1098. There already existed a castle built or restored by Elfreda or Ethelreda, in 912, at Pam Pudding Hill, on the other side of the Severn. Robert de Belesme, in the rebellion against Henry I, had his castle at Bridgnorth taken, as that at Quatford had been, by the King. It was not, however, destroyed like that at Quatford, but became a royal fortress, and remained so till Charles I gave it to one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber. Many of the intervening monarchs made it their halting-place in expeditions against Wales. But the chief interest in the Castle lay in the last scene of its existence,—its siege, capture, and destruction by the Parliamentary forces under Cromwell, who was said to have conducted the siege in person. All that now remained was the keep; and the inclination of the walls (which seem as though they must every moment fall to the ground) was due to an attempt to blow them up by the springing of a mine by the Puritans. The Town Council of Bridgnorth, some years ago, regarding the place as an eyesore, also made an attempt to blow it up, but they failed. It was now the property of Mr. W. O. Foster, who purchased it from the Whitmores.

The neighbouring church of St. Mary was pointed out as the work of Telford, and Mr. Ward thought that the character of the fabric ought to make them thankful that Telford had given up architecture and taken to engineering.

Conducted by Mr. Ward, the party then inspected the remarkable dwellings, still tenanted, which are cut out of the face of the red sand-stone rock which runs down the side of the Severn; and remarkable it was to view the little cribbed, cabined, and confined rooms of the "houses"; each mean room being simply a small cavern hewn by human hands, and little more than sufficient to stand up or lie down in. The party then crossed the bridge, and visited the hermitage or chapel, cut out of the solid rock, on the other side of the river. There are still traces of roughly carved Norman pillars and chancel-arches, and a place at the end of the wall still indicates where the altar once stood. Documentary testimony supports the ancient tradition that this cave was the cell of a royal recluse.

On the return journey from Bridgnorth, a *détour* was made to Wor-

field Church and Chesterton. Worfield Church consists of a nave, chancel, north and south aisles, south porch, and western tower, surmounted by a spire rising to the height of two hundred feet. On the preceding Monday, during a severe thunderstorm, the lightning struck the vane on the top of the spire, cutting the comb of the cock clean off. This small piece of metal, which fell on to the battlements, was shown to the visitors. The church contains, among other monuments, two fine Elizabethan ones to the memory of Sir George and Sir Edward Bromley and their dames.

The encampment, or, as it is called, "The Walls", at Chesterton (an excursion omitted from the previous day's programme in consequence of the thunderstorm), was next visited. Time did not serve to make out the complete figure of this once stronghold of native Britons or Roman soldiers, or of both; but there were clear signs of two ditches and two banks, and here and there of a third bank; and a strong wish was expressed that some excavations might be made.

As the day was now drawing in, the return journey was commenced to Wolverhampton, which was not reached until about half-past nine.

In consequence of the late hour at which the main body of the excursionists arrived, a few members of the Local Committee and others had assembled in the Council Chamber, at the Town Hall, for the evening meeting, which was to have commenced at half-past eight. After waiting until after nine o'clock, it was decided to commence the meeting; and the Rev. W. Stephens, vicar of Wednesbury, at the request of those present, took the chair, and at once called upon Mr. W. Molyneux to read his paper "On the Roman Roads of Staffordshire", which will be printed hereafter.

By the time Mr. Molyneux had concluded his paper, the members of the Association had arrived. Mr. Roberts, on their behalf, apologised for their late appearance at the meeting, at the same time explaining the cause by giving a short *résumé* of the day's proceedings. He expressed their regret at having thus been deprived of the pleasure of hearing the paper read by Mr. Molyneux, after which he proceeded to read a paper by Mr. J. C. Tildesley "On the Early Industries of Staffordshire", which is printed at pp. 173-181 *ante*.

Mr. G. M. Hills, in the unavoidable absence of Mr. J. W. Grover, C.E., read a paper by that gentleman "On Iron and the Ironworks of Roman Britain", which is printed at pp. 121-129 *ante*.

Thanks having been unanimously voted to the Chairman, and to those gentlemen who had prepared and read the papers which had been brought forward during the evening, the meeting came to an end.

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THE GREAT SEALS OF KING HENRY I.

BY W. DE G. BIRCH, ESQ., F.R.S.L., HON. PALÆOGRAPHER.

THE evidence afforded by the great seals, or seals of majesty, used during the reign of King Henry I, illustrates in several interesting ways the history of events during that period, and assists in some measure the endeavours of the historian and the palæographer to assign definite dates to the comparatively few sealed charters issued by his chancellors which are yet extant. This monarch was elected to the throne, at Winchester, by the nobles who had just assisted at the burial of his ill-fated brother, William Rufus; and the ceremony of his coronation was performed upon the following day, Sunday, the 5th of August, A.D. 1100. Henry's reign, in all probability, commenced with that ceremonial, and from that day forwards. The *Saxon Chronicle*, William of Malmesbury, Hoveden, Hemingford, Henry of Huntingdon, and other early authorities, all agree on this point of date. The King's death occurred in the night of Sunday the 1st of December, A.D. 1135; and but one author attempts to make any precise calculations of the length of his reign, viz. William of Malmesbury, who in his *Gesta Regum* gives the exact period occupied by the reign in these words: "Regnavit ergo annis triginta quinque, et a nonis Augusti usque ad kalendas Decembris, id est, mensibus quatuor diebus quatuor minus."¹

¹ Hardy's edition for the Historical Society, vol. ii, pp. 700, 701.
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As it was not the custom, in this reign, to insert any mention of date¹ in the charters, whether issued by the royal Court of Exchequer, or, as merely private transfers and title-deeds, by the landed proprietors throughout the kingdom, the only available means of ascertaining the date of these documents is—1, by a determination of the circumstances leading to alterations, if any, of the royal style and title; 2, by an accurate knowledge of the period when the various personages, whose names occur either as principals or witnesses in their lines, flourished; and 3, by a careful consideration of the seals appended to them. It is chiefly to the latter of these three kinds of critical evidence, which alone we can bring to bear upon the subject of assigning an approximate date to such documents, that the present account of Henry I's seals is devoted. At the same time the two other methods of elimination bear strongly on this point, and will be found to have been brought into operation very forcibly during the examination of the proposed subject; and if, in the course of the inquiry, the fact can be established, that each one of the three types of extant seals known to have been used by the King, must have been employed between two extreme years in the early part of his reign, while the fourth type can only be similarly attributed to a period limited to the final years of the same sovereign, we shall be enabled to assert that documents sealed with what must, in this case, be called the first, second, and third seals, originated in the early years of the reign; while documents sealed with impressions of the other type must be considered posterior to these, and assigned to the concluding moiety of the reign of the same monarch. This theory rests upon a slender but not the less clear evidence, as must be patent to those who will carefully consider the following accounts of the sealed charters yet preserved, and the light thrown upon their date by the calculations involved by the names of nobles and other lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries contained in the documents themselves.

It is a remarkable fact that every seal appended to a genuine charter which I have examined during my researches connected with this inquiry, has been appended by a strip

¹ The fact of a date in a charter of this King would be of itself sufficient to cast grave doubts on the genuineness of the document. See the remarks further on upon several charters so dated.



PLATE



of the lower edge of the parchment on which the writing has been made, cut along nearly to the end ; and with a thin strip first cut, and left, like a loose string, hanging free ; whereas those charters which, from other and various reasons, I have looked upon with suspicions, have in most cases departed from this method of sealing.

FIRST SEAL.—The seal which I call the first seal, from its great similarity to the seal of William II, figured by the Association in their *Journal* last year, and from internal evidence which demands an early date for the documents that contain it, is represented in Plate 7, and is here noticed for the first time, from three impressions among the muniments preserved at Durham Cathedral. To the Librarian, the Rev. W. Greenwell, I may here be allowed to express my thanks for the loan of ten interesting documents which have enabled me to discover two new and unpublished types of seals ; and I feel sure the Association will unite with me in thanking the Cathedral Chapter for so unique an exhibition of valuable seals. By collating three imperfect impressions (none, unfortunately, being quite perfect), this new type may be described in the following terms :

Obverse.—The King is represented on this seal seated in majesty, and draped in an under-coat with tight sleeves at the wrists, and loose skirts reaching below the knees ; over which is a long flowing cloak fastened at the throat, and spreading out in free display behind him. It has a border on which are indications of a fur or symmetrical pattern. On his head a cap-shaped crown with three fleurs-de-lys ; one on the centre of the top, and one at either side ; having two chin-straps hanging loosely at the sides, the ends of which take the shape of trefoils. In his right hand, extended upwards from the elbow, a naked broadsword held almost perpendicularly. In his left hand, similarly extended, the King holds an orb or mound ensigned with a long cross pattée pommettée. The seat or throne on which the King rests is apparently square, and in fact closely resembles that on the great seal of William II ; the centre of its height curves with a bold cusp inwards, with a band of moulding, and is the narrowest part. In the lower of the two compartments thus made is a footboard, but unfortunately not enough remains to speak positively as to its shape. Upon the throne is a flat cushion or mattress with squared edge,

carrying at either end a hemispherical ornament, perhaps intended for a pillow.

The legend, as obtained from the one impression which alone has any lettering left, is as follows, within two foliated rings : + H.....GLORVM (*Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum*).

Reverse.—This side of the seal bears a representation of the King in a hauberk of chain-mail, here, and not as in William II's seal, indicated by minute and numerous circles interlacing and re-entering into each other ; with a helmet of conical shape having a blunt point at the crown, and perhaps armed with a nasal or projecting nose-piece. He has a single-pointed spur of the goad form, and is accoutred with a long lance, to which is attached a banner charged with a cross moline and three pairs of waving streamers. There is no indication of any sword. In his left hand he holds by the *guige*, or interior strap, a kite-shaped shield seen from within. He is mounted upon a warhorse galloping to the left, caparisoned with a pectoral belt, or *poytrail*, ornamented with five globular pendants arranged at equal distances ; with a saddle of small dimensions, stirrup-straps, and receptacle for the foot ; and loosely gathered reins held up in the left hand, which sustains the shield.

The legend, which alone remains on one impression, is + HENRIC' D.....

The points to be noticed about this fragmentary legend are, that the H and E are combined together, an unusual circumstance upon royal seals of England ; and that the C is of square form, with a curved contraction added to represent the concluding *us* of the name.

Impressions of the first type : i. Durham Charters, 2da, 1ma, Regalium, L. i, No. 1.—A very sharp impression of the new type, in yellow or white uncoloured wax. The lower part and the edge wanting. Varnished.

H. rex anglorum . R. vicecomiti . & omnibus fidelibus suis de everwicscira salutem. Sciatis me concessisse deo . & Sancto Cuthberto . & monachis suis . j. carrucatam terrae in drowetona (*Drewton*) . & . j. molendinum . cum saca . & soca . & tol . & tem . & infangenteof . ita bene . & quiete . & in pace . sicut melius & quietius tenuerunt die qua Willenus frater meus vivus et mortuus fuit. Et super hoc nulli respondeant. teste . W. pencerel' apud Westmuster in natale domini.

The wording of this charter seems to point to an early date, but there are no data that can be relied upon.

II. Durham Charters, 2da, 1ma, Regalium, O. i, No. 14.—A fine impression of the new type, in white wax, varnished of a light brown. The legend and a large part of the field are wanting.

H. rex anglorum . O. vicecomiti . & omnibus fidelibus suis lincolie . salutem. Scitis me concessisse deo & Sancto Cuthberto . & monachis ejus domum . & terram Vlfgeti ita bene . & quiete . & in pace sicut Willelmus dunelmensis episcopus melius & quietius eam tenuit tempore fratris mei Willelmi . & die qua predictus episcopus vivus et mortuus fuit . teste W. peverl' apud Westmuster in natale domini.

There are no data sufficiently clear to fix any epoch to this charter beyond the mention of William, Bishop of Durham, and William Rufus. The concluding clause would appear to connect this very closely, in point of date, with the preceding document. Osbertus, the sheriff, occurs in the early years of Henry I.

III. Durham Charters, 3tia, 1ma, Regalium, F. i, No. 6.—An impression in white wax, thickly covered with brownish yellow varnish. The central portion of the seal alone remains.

H. rex anglorum . R. vicecomiti . & omnibus baronibus . & fidelibus suis in Notingehamscira . salutem. Scitis me concessisse deo . & Sancto Cuthberto . & monachis ejus omnes terras . & molendina . & quicquid tenuerunt in Notingehamscira . cum saca . & soca . & tol . & tem . & infangenteof . & cum omnibus consuetudinibus infra burgum . & extra . ita bene . & quiete . & in pace . sicut unquam melius & quietius habuerunt die qua Willelmus frater meus vivus et mortuus fuit. Et tu Willelme peverel' vide sicut me diligis ne monachi Sancti Cuthberti ullo modo perdant . nec terras . vel consuetudines . vel illas res unde saisiti erant die predicto . quia ipsi et omnia eorum in manu mea sunt. teste Willelmo cancellario . in natale domini.

This charter contains a quantity of similar matter to that contained in the two previous documents, and must, without doubt, be attributed to a contemporary period. The mention of William Giffard, the King's chancellor, as a witness, fixes the date beyond doubt, for he is known to have enjoyed the dignity only in the years 1100 and 1103. I am inclined, from the mention of William II, and allusion to his reign and death, to place these three charters to the Christmas Day (*natale domini*) in the year 1100, the first of the King's reign.

SECOND SEAL.—Proceeding to the type, which the date eliminated from the next charter I shall quote compels me to call the second, although it would appear at first sight to

be rather the third type, from its remarkable similarity to the last or fourth type, there are many points about it which seem to connect it with those that approach it both before and afterwards in point of style and execution. The main points of difference in the obverse of this, as compared with the fourth type are, (1) the absence of the stars in the field which so completely distinguish that type from all the others. (2) The smallness of those objects here which appear to be cushions or pillows upon the seat of the throne. (3) The footboard here is nearly square and adorned with an annular beading on the front edge, whereas in the fourth seal this footboard is represented in perspective, and has the beaded work more clearly marked. In other respects the similarity of this and the fourth seal is so precise that it would almost seem that this type represents the first state of the original matrix which was afterwards altered into the fourth type by insertion of the stars and some considerable retouching in parts. One of the horizontal lines indicating the moulding of the throne passes just beneath the heels of the king in this type, but in the fourth seal it passes above the heels, and I cannot altogether account for this by any idea of its having been retouched.

The legends are the same on both obverses, as indeed on the obverses of all four seals.

When a comparison of the two reverses is made the difference is very apparent, for although the idea is the same in each case, the horse and his royal rider almost duplicates, the royal banner and cross and streamers already seen upon the first, and yet to be seen upon the third type, have been replaced in the fourth by a long drawn sword with deeply cut groove down along its length, held out by the extended right arm of the king. The legend also of this type closely connects it with the reverses of the first and third, and as far as it goes helps to fix the date of its use, as will be noticed when I come to treat of the fourth type. If this reverse is considered by any theory to represent the first state of the matrix which appears in its secondary and final form on the fourth seal, a very considerable amount of alteration must be accounted for; the right forearm of the king and the lance with banner-flag and streamers must have been filled up, and a slight trace of a scratch or flaw in the field towards the top, perhaps, be the last faint trace of the banner;

the arm carried along outwards from the elbow to the wrist, and the whole of the sword inserted as well as a scabbard seen from beneath the belly of the horse. In addition to these extensive alterations the legend and the beaded annuli containing it would have been removed to make way for the new style "*Dux Normannorum*," within two annuli, consisting of dots more widely separated. I can therefore only conclude that whatever may have been the connection between the obverses of this and the fourth type, the reverses are in any case derived from distinctly separated matrices, but executed by the same hand, or a hand of the same school, with a desire to reproduce as nearly as might be possible a facsimile of the seal with just the necessary alterations and no more.

Impressions of the second type: 1. The first impression is very much more imperfect and indistinct than the second, but its intrinsic data demand for it a very early year in the reign of Henry I. William Giffard, the king's chancellor, recurs here as a witness, a fact which places this deed to the year 1100 or 1103. Indeed the first seal derives its place in the series principally from the mention of this personage, and were it only for this there might be some difficulty in assigning the priority to it had it not been that its plainness and similarity of much of its detail to the seal of William Rufus required that it should be placed first, while this second seal approaches far more closely, as I have already shown, to the two types yet to be examined. This impression is in uncoloured wax varnished brown, and very little of the legend is left. The document to which it is appended is Durham Charter, 2da, 1ma, Regalium, R. i, No. 17.

.H. rex anglorum . G[erardo] archiepiscopo . & O[sberto] vicecomiti . & omnibus baronibus . & fidelibus suis de everwicscira ; salutem . Sciatis me concessisse deo & Sancto Cuthberto & Monachis ejus terram quam Rodbertus de Stutevilla dedit predicto Sancto in hundeslai . & . i . carrucatam terræ in Drowetona . & . i . molendinum quod Normanus Sancto Cuthberto dedit quando effectus est monachus . cum saca & socna . & tol . & tem . & infangeteof . & omnibus consuetudinibus ita bene . & quiete . & in pace . sicut sanctus predictus melius et quietius alias suas terras habet . teste Willelmo Cancellario . apud Westmonasterium . in natale Domini .

Gerard, Archbishop of York, occupied the dignity from A.D. 1100 to the 21st of May, A.D. 1108; and William Giffard, the chancellor, only held office in A.D. 1100 and

1103. Hence there is no difficulty in assigning this charter to A.D. 1103. Indeed the whole tenor of the document is so similar to the three already assigned to the first type that this type here exhibited must be placed next. The greater ornamentation displayed places it after the first type, which is simpler in the details of the throne.

II. This impression is the finest of the two original specimens of this new type. It is appended to Durham charter, 2da, 1ma, Regalium, G. i, No. 7, and is in a pale greenish wax, varnished with a dark reddish brown colour. It is unfortunately imperfect, but a reference to its photograph, plate, 8 will show the amount of surface remaining. The text of the charter is as follows :—

.H. rex anglorum . Radulfo de agencourt . & Willelmo de Luvetot . & omnibus fidelibus suis de Notingehamscira . salutem. Sciatis quia
volo & concedo ut monachi dunelmenses ita bene & honorifice teneant
& habeant terras suas & consuetudines & omnes res suas de Notinge-
hamsira sicut melius & quietius tenuerunt tempore patris & fratis mei
& meo . in burgo & extra . & sicut precepi & concessi eis per brevia
mea. Et nominatum . ij . carucatas terræ quas diratiocuaverunt erga
Fulconem de lusor' apud Curiam meam . & sicut homines juraverunt
de comitatu . & per . iiiij . solidos per annum . & non plus ei inde faciant.
Et pecuniam quam cepit cito reddatur . teste . Nigello de albini . apud .
Wodestoc.

The phrase "per brevia mea" herein expressed alludes to the former charter of the king to the charter No. III, printed under the account of the first type of seal.

THIRD SEAL.—Having now described two new types of seals used by Henry I, which have never been pointed out before, and having shown by the style of the king, and by the mention of certain personages in the charters, that they must be placed to the periods A.D. 1100 and 1103 for their employment, I now proceed to the examination of the third type, which I shall show cannot be later than A.D. 1106 ; and hence it follows that this third type was in use for the four years included between A.D. 1103-1106, for we have the second type in use at the first of those years, and the style found upon the fourth adopted in the last of those years. The third type then (hitherto called the first) may be described in the following terms :—

Obverse.—The king, habited in a closely fitting tunic or under garment, with short sleeves and knees, over which is a loose cloak with a dotted or embroidered border, gathered

PLATE 8



up by a button over the right breast and thrown over the left arm in ample folds, and floating outwards on either side and behind the throne ; his hair is short, his crown appears to have two ornamental appendages for fastening beneath the chin. He is extending both arms horizontally from the elbow, and in the right holds a sword aloft in bend sinister, in the left an orb surmounted by a cross pattée upon an ornamental stand ; the cross is in turn surmounted by a dove. The king is seated upon a throne without back, ornamented on either side with a spherical knob, the front legs of the throne enriched with six annular studs, upon the panel work in front two semicircular arches ; the king's feet rest upon a rectangular footboard jutting out from the plinth, both plinth and footboard are embellished with similar annuli and small arches, probably intended to represent carving.

The legend is between two concentric rings formed of small dots : + HENRICVS DEI GRACIA REX ANGLORVM.

Reverse.—The king is attired in a hauberk of interlinked chain-mail, here represented by honeycomb work, a plain conical steel helmet without nasal, and a plain goad spur. He is holding in the right hand a lance-flag terminating in three points and ensigned with a cross moline (?) ; in his left hand a kite-shaped shield, seen from within, and showing the rivets by which the wooden and leathern portions were held together ; in this hand he also holds the reins of his charger. The king is mounted upon a war horse passant to the left, caparisoned with head-harness, breast-band with hanging ornaments, a simple saddle and girth.

The legend resembles that of the obverse :—

+ HENRICVS DEI GRACIA REX ANGLORVM.

Diameter, 3½ inches.

This type has been engraved in the *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, Paris, folio, 1835, Plate I, fig. 3 ; and the reverse only, but with great precision, in Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, vol. i, page 119. It is reproduced here for the sake of comparison with the other types which in general *ensemble* approach it very closely. There must undoubtedly have been an endeavour in designing these seals to avoid as much as possible any very evident departure in one from the general effect of another, but at the same time I do not think that any of them were intended to be ac-

tual facsimiles of others ; if so, nothing could be further from the result attained by the artist. I may add here, that from their general appearance they are probably the productions of the same designer and the same engraver.

Impressions of the third type : i. Campbell Charter, xxix, 5, in the British Museum.—A specimen in brownish white wax, which has been faced at a very early period with a brown varnish now rubbed off in parts. The central part of the seal alone remains, appended by a broad label cut out of the parchment itself at right angles, on the left hand side of the document. The edge of the seal has been repaired with green wax. No legend remains upon this impression. The text of the deed is as follows :—

.H. dei gratia rex anglorum . episcopis . comitibus . proceribus . vicecomitibus . ceterisque suis fidelibus . francis et anglis in omnibus comitatibus in quibus Archiepiscopus ANSELMVS et monachi ecclesie Christi cantuarie terras habent . amicabiliter salutem. Notum vobis facio me concessisse eis omnes terras quas tempore regis EADWARDI cognati mei . & tempore Willelmi patris mei habuerunt . & saca . & socne . on strande . & streme . on wudu . & felde . tolnes . & teames . & grithbrices . & hamsocne . & forestalles . & infangenesthiofes . & flemene fermthe . super suos homines . infra burgos . & extra . in tantum et tam pleniter sicut proprii ministri mei exquirere deberent . & etiam super tot thegenes quot eis concessit pater meus . & nolo ut aliquis hominum se intromittat nisi ipsi . & ministri eorum quibus ipsi committere voluerint . nec francus . nec anglus . propterea quia ego Christo has consuetudines pro redemptione animarum mearum . sicut rex eaduardus & pater meus antea fecerunt . & nolo pati ut aliquis eas infringat . si non vult perdere amicitiam meam. Deus vos custodiat. H. thurh godes genu anglelandes kyning . grete ealle mine bisceopes . & ealle mine eorles . & ealle mine scirgereuan . & ealle mine thegenas . francesce . & anglisce on tham sciran the anselm arcebiscop & se hired et christescircean on cantwareberig habbath land inne freondlice . & ic kythe eow that ic habbe heom gennon that hi byon alc thare lande wurthe the hi hæfdon on eadwordes kynges dæge mines mæges . & on willelmes kynges dæge mines fæder . & saca . & socne . on strande . & on streme . on wudan . & on feldan . tolnes & teames . grithbreces & hamsocne . forstealles & infangenesthiofes . & flemene feormthe ofer hire agene mænn binnan burgan & butan . swa ful & swa forth swa mine agene wicneras hit secan scoldan & ofer swa fela thegena swa ic heom to gelæten habbe . & ic nelle that ænig man ænig thing thær on tyo buton hi . & heore wicneras the hi hit betæcan willath . ne fræn-cisc ne ænglisc . for tham thingan the ic hæbbe criste thas gerihte for genen minre sawle to ecere alysednosso . oalswa eadword kyng & mim fæder ær hæfdon . & ic nelle gethafian that ænig man this to brece beminan fullan freondscipe. God eow gehealde.¹

¹ This curious example of English language at the commencement of the twelfth century is especially notable for the fact of its indicating traces of a

In this document the fact of Anselm's name being introduced as that of a living person, renders the work of ascertaining the period during which the grant may have been made to the church at Canterbury comparatively simple. The archbishop died on the 21st of April, A.D. 1109, so that we have at once the limits 5th of August, A.D. 1100—21st of April, A.D. 1109, as the extremes of the date of this charter. In all probability the archbishop would have allowed very little time to have elapsed, after the accession of the new monarch, before he agitated for the concessions of so liberal a character as the formula above given demonstrates, and we may without exceeding the just bounds of conjecture attribute this charter to one of the earliest years of the reign (not however forgetting to allow for the time during which the two previous types of seal were in use), when we consider how constantly and bitterly the king and the archbishop quarrelled during the concluding years of Anselm's life, and that it was not for long that an amicable state of things lasted between them. Although we may for the present accept the date of this charter as ranging between the dates given above, the probable date of the second type A.D. 1103 and the change of the style as given upon this seal in A.D. 1106 narrows this date to four years, A.D. 1103-1106, as I have already stated in the commencement of my remarks upon this type. There is very little doubt but that the king confirmed the liberties of the church by this charter to the archbishop immediately on the return of the latter to England, and shortly after the royal coronation, when there existed much cordiality between them. Indeed it was at the king's desire that Anselm returned to duties which he had fully made up his mind to relinquish. The graphic account of the relations of Anselm with the two kings, William II and Henry I, including a quantity of matter hitherto unknown, should be consulted by the reader with great interest in N. E. Hamilton's edition of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* among the series of "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain," published under the direction of

third language, which must be taken to represent the English or so-called Anglo-Saxon, strained through the mouths of the Normans. Such forms as *wudan*, *feldan*, and *flemeneformthe*, are corruptions of language, not of orthography only,—of the parallel forms, *wudh*, *felde*, *flemenefermthe*, in the early English version in the first half of this charter.

the Master of the Rolls in 1870. In that work will be found much that is quite new to the history of Anselm's public life, the ancient author having carefully suppressed in his later editions statements prejudicial to the king in his previous editions.

II. Cotton Charter VII, 1, in the British Museum.—Another copy of the charter already quoted. From the endorsement upon the back of this “ij. quadpl” it would appear that this is the second of a set of four duplicate copies which had most likely been made at the request of the authorities of the Cathedral of Canterbury to guard against loss or accident. It is very curious to contemplate these two charters, issuing from the same place and originating under identical circumstances, at length finding a resting place (after a lapse of nearly eight hundred years, partly at least spent in widely different places) side by side in our national library. Neither of these copies appears to be the original document granted by the king to Canterbury. They rather seem to have been made by some monk more used to the text hand of religious books, as seen in manuscripts in use during the early part of the twelfth century, than written by the official scribe of the court, whose hand, as is evident from other charters, would have possessed a much freer and more characteristic touch in it. The seal in this case is appended in a precisely similar manner; and the writing, equally alike, much obliterated, although sufficient is left to show that the text is identical with that of the Campbell charter. This circumstance of one copy having decayed while the other preserves a good condition, illustrates in a practical manner the foresight of the monks who reproduced copies of their most important archives to guard against theft, fire, mutilation, or other kinds of destruction of such muniments not easily replaced when once destroyed. Just as the ancient Romans multiplied specimens of the *ancile* which fell from heaven, in order that no one might know which was the original, so here the copies were multiplied with a very similar intention. The parties interested either had these productions sealed with the king's seal in a legitimate manner, or were acquainted with some clever and hitherto undetected manner of casting or imitating the seal itself. A fragment of a charter of Henry II, still extant in the muniment room of Canterbury Cathe-



PLATE 9



dral, sealed in the very same and unusual manner, contains identically the same formula of confirmation, the only alterations being in the royal style of that monarch, the substitution of the contemporary archbishop's name, Teobaldus, and the word *ealfader* for *mæges* to indicate the relationship of Henry II to Edward the Confessor. The imperfect state of this charter, which is now very illegible and rapidly decaying, accounts for my placing it here in juxtaposition to its prototype :—

.H. dei gratia rex anglorum . & dux in quibus archiepiscopus Teobaldus quas tempore regis Eadwardi hamsocene . & fore-
stealles . & thegenes . quot eis concesserunt Wil.... propterea
quia ego concessi Christo has infringat . si non vult perdere
ealle mine scirgerenan . & freondice . & ic kythe eow ges dæge
mines ealdfad breces & ham soc secan sceoldan . & ou.... fræn-
cise . ne ængles & ic nelle gethafian thæt ənig....

It is worth notice that this language is that of the middle of the eleventh century and almost identical with the corresponding Anglo-Saxon charter of Edward the Confessor granted one hundred years previous to Canterbury, which will be found printed for the first time in my account of the seals of that monarch in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. x, new series, 1870.

III. Cotton Charter, II, 2, in the British Museum.—A specimen of this third type of seal in brown wax with the edges imperfect. The engravings of the seal given in the *Trésor de Numismatique*, pl. 1, f. 3, and in Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, vol. i, p. 119, are from casts made from this very seal, which is the most perfect of any we have extant. It is figured here in plate 9. The years between which this document is to be placed appear to be A.D. 1102-1118 as the evidence afforded by the names of the witnesses makes clear, or A.D. 1103-1106, if we consider the change of style to which I shall draw attention further on. The following is the text of this instrument, which is written upon a long narrow piece of vellum in thirty-six short lines, in a very large and regular text hand, quite unlike the charter hand commonly current at that period. The seal is appended by a label of vellum folded and passed through a slit made in the blank margin at the bottom of the writing :—

Servire deo . ejusque inherere institutis . ea demum sapientia est .
quæ & in presenti regum mentes justificat . & justificatas . in futura

vita aeternæ beatitudinis felicitate coronat. Unde rex et excellentissimus propheta. Et nunc reges intelligite erudimini qui judicatis terram. Servite domino in timore et exultate ei cum tremore. Et infra. Cum exarserit in brevi ira ejus beati omnes qui confidunt in eo. Quæ confidentia minime consequeretur nisi fidei & dilectionis antecederet operatio. Quod ego Henricus rex considerans. & in sancta ædificanda æcclesia devotus & sollicitus inveniri desiderans. concedo donum quod fecerat Radulfus filius Godrici æcclesiae sanctæ trinitatis apud Norwicum. de quadam terra sua in Neutona. & ego eandam terram cum appendiciis suis dono ex parte mea in eodem loco cum saca et soca et tol et theom. & infanghetheof & omnibus consuetudinibus. precipiens ut monachi sanctæ trinitatis habeant eandem terram in perpetuum. omnium clamantium exclusa calumpnia. Hanc donationem confirmo ego Henricus rex & astipulatione sanctæ crucis & appositione sigilli mei.

- + Signum ipsius regis Henrici.
- + Signum Mathildis reginæ.
- + Signum rogerii salesberie episcopi.
- + Signum willelmi bigoti.
- + Signum radulfi filii godrici.

The new edition of Rymer's *Fædera*, p. 11, has the text of this charter professedly from the original, but it has been printed with several errors. The crosses and five concluding sentences beginning *signum*, etc., are written in different forms of writing to represent actual autograph signatures, but there can be no doubt about the falsity of this document. I do not mean that by means of it the monks of Norwich obtained and held possession of the land indicated. They had no doubt a charter from the king confirming the gift of Ralph fitz-Godric, but from loss or some other cause that genuine document was unavailable, and they prepared this to supply its place. In doing so, however, the scribe chose to imitate the conveyancing forms used in the ninth and tenth centuries, rather than that in use during the time of Henry I. For numerous instances of these early forms the reader may look through Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, and for the forms contemporary with Henry I the most usual will be found in the charters quoted in the course of this paper. In addition to this evidence, which to the palæographer is irresistible, another remains to be brought forward equally convincing to the historian and to the chronologist, I mean an examination of the dates involved by the names mentioned.

1. Queen Mathildis or Matilda of Scotland, first wife of Henry I, died on the first of May, in the king's eighteenth regnal year, A.D. 1118.

2. Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, was *nominated* to that dignity at Michaelmas A.D. 1102; *elected* on the 13th of April, A.D. 1103; *consecrated* on the 11th of August A.D. 1107; and died on the 4th of December, A.D. 1139.

Hence the extreme limits of date that can be allowed to this charter are A.D. 1102 to 1118, if it is a genuine one, and if reckoned from the *nomination* of Bishop Roger. It must, on the other hand, be borne in mind that the bishop would have been mentioned as *electus episcopus* if he had subscribed to the charter at any time previous to his *consecration*, when only he would be rightly entitled to use the formula *episcopus salesberiæ*. There are numerous instances of this appropriated use of the words *eligere*, *electus*, by ecclesiastical dignitaries during the interval elapsing between their nomination or election and actual consecration; without the performance of this latter ceremony by the proper authorities no one was allowed capable of exercising all the functions and enjoying the privileges belonging to the episcopate. The testimony of William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Pontificum*, p. 39) is very clear on this point of title. Under A.D. 1070 we get the words, "Thomas Eboracensis ecclesiæ *antistes electus Cantuarberiam...sacrandus advenit.*" Again (p. 303) mentioning the elevation of Roger, the larderer, to the see of Hereford, he writes thus:—

Girardo ... in Eboracum translato, substitui jussus est a rege Rogerius quidam lardarius. Sed is, *nullo pontificali munere suscepto, infra octo dies electionis apud Lundeniam defunctus est.* Mandato ante archiepiscopo Anselmo (Deus bone, quam mira inepcia!) *ut se in episcopum consecraret* antequam moreretur, eoque anxiæ et instantissime postulato. Quam hominis fatuitatem, nullo relato responso, sanctus *antistes* solius modestia risus *infirmavit.*

If any words could be more to the point in explaining the difference between a bishop *elect* and a bishop *consecrated*, it would be the same author's account of the remarkable proceedings of this very witness Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, with regard to his consecration. This is so pertinent to the question of date involved in the charter given above, and points so clearly to the fact that the bishop's spirit, which contained a large element of careful foresight and not a little ecclesiastical punctilio, would not have suffered him to call himself *episcopus* before his *consecration*, that the exact words are required here:—

Erant *electi* Rogerius cancellarius regis ad Salesberiam, Reinelmus

cancellarius reginæ ad Herefordiam. Willelmus etiam fuerat adhuc recenti potestate Henrici violenter ad Wintoniensem episcopatum electus nec electioni assentiens, immo eligentes asperis convitiis et minis incessens. Sed regrediente Anselmo ab eo et baculo pastorali donatus et in ecclesiam introductus est. Quare ad illius benedictionem libens assensum commodabat. *Ita rex, paulo commotior, Girardo Eboracensi consecrationis omnium munus injunxit. Nec ille retractasset si non electi altiori ratione refugissent.* Quorum Reinelmus, mox relato regi anulo et baculo, episcopatu cessit. Willelmus non minus nisi quod anulum non reddidit. *Rogerius PREDICANDA PRUDENTIA ita rem temperavit, ut nec regem irritaret nec archiepiscopo injuriam ficeret.*—*Gesta Pontificum*, p. 110.

Eventually Archbishop Anselm went to Rome on this very matter, and Roger, who had preferred to wait for his consecration at the hands of the proper dignitary rather than receive it with any taint of informality from the Archbishop of York, was not consecrated until Anselm performed the ceremony on his return from Rome in A.D. 1107, four years afterwards.

If on the other hand we are to consider that the charter requires to satisfy the later and more correct date of the Bishop of Salisbury, the period becomes limited between the 11th of August, A.D. 1107, and 1st of May, A.D. 1118. This, however, raises another difficulty which stands in the way of the genuineness of the document, that, namely, of accounting for the style of the king, which was altered from "Rex Anglorum" into "Rex Anglorum et Dux Normannorum", in consequence of the battle of Tinchebray, on the 27th of December, A.D. 1106, an event which I have more than once alluded to and shall explain more fully further on. Taking into consideration, therefore, this incontinuity of dates, which do not overlap, we must either on this ground also (as we have already done in consideration of the palæography and formulation) reject the deed as spurious, or allow the space between the 27th of December, A.D. 1106, and the 11th of August, A.D. 1107, to have elapsed before the new seal with the king's amended style engraved upon it, was ready for the use of the chancellor. Another doubtful charter to be brought forward presently extends still further this period of time, which apparently elapses between the change of style and use of the seal.

iv. Durham Charter, 2da. 1ma. regalium, No. 5.—An impression of this third type in pale greenish coloured wax, varnished with an oak brown glaze. The edges are chipped

and defective in many places, but the field is nearly entire. The label has been folded over before the seal was impressed. The writing of the document as well as its tenor and formulation are such as to throw grave doubts upon its authenticity. The date of A.D. 1109 herein expressed is sufficiently strong of itself to overthrow any claim to the proper origin of the charter. I shall also show that the next or fourth type of seal was certainly in use before the 21st May, A.D. 1108, one year before the date demanded by the document. The text is as follows :—

Ego Henricus dei gratia rex anglorum filius magni regis Willelmi qui beatae memorie regi Edwardo in regnum successit ; terras scilicet Burdune . & Carlestone . & Heaclif . quas homines norhumbrenses de comitatu esse dicentes super sanctum Cuthbertum . & Rannulfum episcopum calumpniabantur . deo & sancto Cuthberto . & ecclesiae dunelmensi & Rannulfo episcopo . & omnibus successoribus suis do quietas & liberas perpetuo habendas . sicut sanctus Cuthbertus habet suas alias terras quae pertinent ad ecclesiam suam melius quietas. Preter haec etiam calumpniabantur norhumbrenses franci & angli percursum ad venandum in silvis sancti Cuthberti inter Teisam & Tinam. Et pro uno denario licere sibi habere ligna in silvis sancti Predicti quantum uno curru vehi potest per annum. Calumpniabantur etiam pro . i°. nummo debere habere quam majorem eligerent arborem in eisdem silvis ad navem faciendam. Similiter etiam calumpniabantur consuetudines in aquis sancti Cuthberti de Tina. Quas omnes consuetudines & earum calumpnias diratiocinavit adversus illos Rannulfus episcopus in mea & baronum meorum presentia. Et ego eas deo & sancto Cuthberto . & Ecclesiae dunelmensi & Rannulfo episcopo . & omnibus successoribus suis omnino quietas & liberas in perpetuum concedo. Haec donatio facta est anno ab incarnatione domini .m.cix. in concilio totius anglie apud Notingham . testibus Thoma archiepiscopo eboracensi . & Ricardo londoniensi episcopo . & Willelmus exoniensi episcopo . & Rodberto Cestrensi episcopo . & Heriberto Norwicensi episcopo . & Herveio eliensi episcopo . & Gilberto abbe Westmonasterii . & Rodberto comite de mellento . & Willelmo de Waræn . & Gilberto de Aquila . & Nigello de Albeni . & Rodberto de laceio . & Unfrido de bohun . & Rodberto de brus . & Goffridus ridel . & Alfrido de Lincolia.

The bishops mentioned herein occur in the year 1109. Gilbert, the abbot of Westminster, died in A.D. 1114. Among the names of nobles, Nigel de Albeni and Robert de Brus were both of very advanced age, having come over, in A.D. 1066, with William the Conqueror.

v. Harley Charter, 43 C. 11, in the British Museum.—A specimen in brown wax with a coating of darker brown varnish. The central portion alone remains, repaired, appended by a bright green bobbin. This is the only charter, of all

under review here, that has the seal appended otherwise than by a label of parchment. The text of the document, which appears to be of a doubtful character, is as follows :

+ In nomine Sanctæ et individuæ trinitatis . patris . & filii . & spiritus sancti. Anno incarnationis dominicas millesimo . centesimo . nono . indictione anno vero pontificatus Domni Paschalis papæ . secundi decimo . regni quoque mei similiter decimo . ego Henricus providente divina clementia rex Anglorum . & normannorum dux . Willelmi magni regis filius . qui Edwardo regi hereditario jure successit in regnum . videns & ecclesias messem . in regno meo multam . esse . & agricultoribus quidem paucos . & ob hoc plurimum laborantes in messe . & in ipsa lincolensem ecclesiam multa plebe fæcundam ; ex auctoritate & concilio predicti papæ paschalis . & assensu simul & prece Roberti lincolensis episcopi . qui tunc ecclesias predictas presidebat . & totius capituli sui cum ipso . annuente domno Anselmo beatae memorie cantuariense archiepiscopo . & Thoma secundo venerabili eboracensium archiepiscopo . & universis episcopis . abbatibus totius anglie . sed et omnibus ducibus . comitibus . & principibus regni mei ; eliense monasterium in quo quidem usque in tempora mea abbates profuerant . cum canterbrugensi provincia . quantum videlicet ad jus lincolensis ecclesias pertinebat . cum abbatiis duabus . Thorneie uidelicet & ceteris . in episcopalem sedem . sicut & ceteros episcopatus regni mei liberam & absolutam perenniter statuo & confirmo. Et pro subjectione & omnibus episcopalibus consuetudinibus ad supradictam lincolensem ecclesiam pertinentibus absolvendis ; consilio & assensu predicti papæ paschalis . de beneficiis ejusdem monasterii villam nomine Spaldwic cum appenditiis suis quæ in territorio huntedonie sita est . cum omnibus consuetudinibus ad predictam villam pertinentibus . supradictæ lincolensi ecclesie . & Roberto ejusdem sedis episcopo & successoribus suis sicut eam umquam eliense monasterium liberius & quietius tenuit jure perpetuo tradidi possidentam. Primum siquidem londoniis apud Westmonasterium sollennitate pentecostes de negotio isto in presentia mea coram felicia memorie Anselmo Archiepiscopo . & universis episcopis et abbatibus et proceribus regni mei tractatum est & eorum omnium communis assensus est favorabiliter consecutus. Post mortem vero predicti pontificis Anselmi ex auctoritate domini papæ Paschalis sicut jam supradictum est in concilio apud castrum Notingham habito in die translationis beatae Edel-dryde virginis sedis ejusdem feliciter per misericordiam dei & terminatum est et definitum . xvi kl. Novembri . faventibus & subscriptibus iis quorum annotata sunt hic tam signa quam nomina.

- + Ego Henricus rex Anglorum subscripti.
- + Ego Mathildis Anglorum regina subscripti.
- + Ego Mathildis sponsa regis romanorum.
- + Signum Heruei Eliensis episcopi primi.
- + Signum Rogerii episcopi Saresburiensis.
- + Signum Ranulphi cancellarii.
- + Signum Thomæ Eboracensis archiepiscopi.
- + Signum Ricardi baiocensis episcopi.
- + Signum Herberti Norwicensis episcopi.
- + Signum Reinelmi herefordiensis episcopi.
- + Signum Radulphi roffensis episcopi.

- + Signum Ricardi londonensis episcopi.
- + Signum Roberti cestrensis episcopi.
- + Signum Willelmi exoniensis episcopi.
- + Signum Ranulphi dunelmensis episcopi.
- + Signum Roberti lincolniensis episcopi.
- + Signum Roberti comitis de mell'.
- + Signum Willelmi comitis de Warenne.
- + Signum Simonis comitis.
- + Signum Stephani comitis de albamara.
- + Signum Rogeri comitis pictauiensis.
- + Signum Gisliberti de aquila.
- + Signum Willelmi de albinni.
- + Signum Nigelli de albinni.

Several variations, but none of importance, will be found in a nearly contemporary copy in the ancient chartulary of Ely (MS. Cotton, *Tiberius A. vi*, fol. 108b) in the British Museum ; and others in a MS., from which the text of the document has been given, in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* (vol. i) contains a detailed history of the circumstances which led to the foundation of the bishopric of Ely. Although the above text is of a doubtful character, there is no doubt, and never was, that the occurrence mentioned here actually took place. In confirmation of it we have the following from an author who was living at the same time :

Habuit ergo hoc [Heliense] cenobium abbates *usque ad nonum annum Henrici regis*. Tunc enim, quia Lincoliensis episcopatus diocesis nimis protendebatur, consilium habitum est ut apud Heli constitueretur episcopatus, haberetque pagum Grantebriggensem. Et ne Lincoliensis sumptus suos imminutos quereretur, dedit regia liberalitas ex alieno villam Heliensem, Spallinges vocatam, quæ episcopi dampnum sarciret, querelam compesceret. Intronizatus est ergo ibi Herveus quidam, qui fuerat Barconensis episcopus, &c.¹

The reasons on which I found my suspicions of the nature of this document are :

1. The omission of the word expressing the numeral of the indiction, which should be "secunda". A space is also left for the word in the Cotton MSS., *Tiberius A. vi*, as well as in the Bodleian MS. from which the editors of the *Monasticon* have printed their version of this document.

2. The tenth year of Pope Paschal II is comprised between the 13th of August, A.D. 1108, and the 12th of August, A.D. 1109 ; the tenth of Henry I between the 5th of August, A.D. 1109, and the 12th of August, A.D. 1110 ; therefore these

¹ Will. Malm., *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 325, 328.

two had but nine days, viz. the 5th to the 10th of August, A.D. 1109, common to their "tenth year"; yet, towards the end of the text, it is stated that its date is the 16th of the kalends of November, *i. e.*, the 16th of October. Here, therefore, is an unsurmountable difficulty.

3. The two archbishops, Anselm and Thomas, are mentioned as agreeing to the proposed erection of the new see. The former of these pontiffs died on the 21st of April, A.D. 1109; but the latter was not consecrated until the 27th of June in the same year, more than two months afterwards. How, then, could these two ecclesiastics agree upon the same matter?

4. The affair is spoken of as first broached at Westminster, in Anselm's presence, on Whit Sunday, which in A.D. 1109 fell upon the 5th of June, fourteen days after Anselm's death; and it is stated that a council was held at Nottingham Castle in October, thus hinting that Anselm's death took place between 5 June and October. Both these dates show that the persons who drew up the charter had failed to provide themselves with a correct sequence of the dates involved.

The "Mathildis sponsa regis romanorum", who subscribes to this charter, is the youthful Empress Maud who played so conspicuous a part in English history after the death of her father, Henry I. At the date of the charter, A.D. 1109, she was barely six years old; but already betrothed (*desponsata*) to the young King of the Romans, according to Sandford's *History*; and as far as this name is concerned, no difficulty arises. (See Ordericus Vitalis, iii, xi, 19.)

vi. Durham Charters, 3tia, 1ma, Regalium, H. i, No. 8.—A fine and sharp impression of the seal in pale, greenish white wax, varnished brown. The seal is in a very soft and flaky state, and much is deficient both of legend and field. The text of the document is as follows :

.H. rex Anglorum . Thomæ Archiepiscopo . & Osberto Vicecomiti . & omnibus baronibus . & omniibus fidelibus suis francis . & anglis de Eurewicscira . & de Northumberlanda ; salutem. Sciatis me concessisse Rannulpho episcopo dunelmensi . ut habeat mercatum in Nortuna quaque die dominica. Et volo & precipio ut omnes ad illud venientes & inde redeuntes habeant meam firmam pacem. Et concedo ibi tales consuetudines habere quales habent in aliis meis dominicis mercatis per Angliam . testibus . Roberto . episcopo . lincolniensi . & Nigello . de Albini . & Roberto . de Brus. Apud Eboracum.

Thomas Archbishop of York was not consecrated until the 27th of June, A.D. 1109, and died on the 24th of February, A.D. 1114. Osbert, sheriff of Yorkshire, occurs about A.D. 1107 in several places.

On reviewing the six documents, to each of which is appended a seal of the type I have shown to be the third, the following facts are arrived at: i and ii are duplicates of a charter not possibly later than the 21st of April, A.D. 1109; iii, a doubtful charter, to be placed between A.D. 1102 and 1118; iv, a doubtful charter dated A.D. 1109; v, a doubtful charter dated 16 kal. Novemb., A.D. 1109; vi, a charter to be placed between the 27th of June, A.D. 1109, and the 24th of February, A.D. 1114.

One point yet remains to be examined, for I have alluded to it several times, and it has a peculiar significance in respect to No. vi charter,—that is the style or title added to the name of the sovereign. In all but one of the charters already given, and upon this seal, it is “*Henricus rex Anglorum*”, or “*Henricus Dei Gratia Rex Anglorum*”; whereas on the next seal, yet to be described, the style upon the reverse is “*Henricus Dei gratia Dux Normannorum*”. If any period prior to A.D. 1109 can be determined to this change of style, a means will be obtained of narrowing still further the few years during which it has been shown that this seal was in use. The consideration of the history of William the Conqueror’s eldest son, Robert Duke of Normandy, leaves no doubt about the exact period when this change took place, and adds a grave difficulty to the charters which require any date after the 27th of December, A.D. 1106.

On the death of William II, Robert, his elder brother, and heir without controversy to the crown of England, was absent from his dukedom of Normandy, which he had inherited by the will of William I, on a crusade. He, however, hastened to return, and being persuaded by the warlike Bishop of Durham, raised a force and invaded England, but was quickly bought off, by “a composition at the old rate”, as the historian Sandford quaintly remarks, viz. 3,000 marks per annum and the reversionary right to the crown. Not long afterwards a quarrel again broke out between these brothers, and this time with a widely different result, for it culminated in the celebrated battle of Tinchebray, or Tenebrachium, which took place on the 27th of December, in

the seventh year of Henry I, *i. e.*, A.D. 1106, wherein duke Robert was taken prisoner. He was successively incarcerated in the castles of Bristol, Devizes, and finally Cardiff, in which latter place, after making a futile attempt to escape he was deprived of his sight, and died on the 10th of February, A.D. 1134. Henry made no scruple to seize his brother's possessions in Normandy, for it does not appear that the son of Duke Robert ever assumed even the titular dignity of the dukedom, but was known, as is evident from the inscription on his tomb, and by the legends on his seals, engraved in Sandford's *Genealogical History* (p. 17) by the title of "Comes Flandriæ."

We must, therefore, fix upon the end of the year 1106 as the turning point in the use of the first style, containing simply "Rex Anglorum", of Henry I; and begin the year 1107 with his fuller title "Rex Anglorum et Dux Normannorum." If this be conceded, it goes far to corroborate the suspicions I have already demonstrated as clinging to the charters Nos. iv and v given above. It thus becomes established that documents, bearing impressions of this type of seal, must be placed between 1100 and 1106, while documents bearing a later date (either actually inserted as in charters Nos. iv and v, or eliminated by examination of the biography of the personages therein mentioned) and containing this early type of seal style, must be looked at with some considerable degree of doubt; at the same time there appears nothing suspicious in No. vi, except its necessity for a later date, and it is possible that the old seal was not withdrawn for a time after the making of the new one. The simple style does not appear to have ever been superseded in the text of the charters throughout the reign; at any rate, with one exception, every one here reproduced has "Rex Anglorum" only.

There are without doubt other specimens of this third type of seal extant in the different repositories scattered throughout England; but those I have described are quite sufficient for the purpose in view, viz. ascertaining the limit of its use. The backward state of the catalogues of many of the most important collections of seals renders it quite likely that many yet "blush unseen," because not identified, described, or catalogued. The fact is now for the first time laid down that this third type was used from 1103 to 1106,



PLATE 10



and not far beyond that latter year, unless we allow, as we are bound to allow, a short period to elapse for the making of the fourth seal. Certainly no example of this seal, as far as my observation is concerned, can be traced to any charter requiring a date later than 1109, and, as I have shown, two so dated are by no means so satisfactory as those which demand even earlier dates. The earliest deed (see following page, No. v) carrying an example of the next or fourth type is directed to a dignitary who died on the 21st of May, 1108, and if the fourth type was in use in May 1108, how could the third be in use the following year (No. vi) without contravening all precedents established with regard to the early great seals of England?

FOURTH SEAL OF HENRY I.—I now proceed to the examination of the fourth type, hitherto considered the second type of Henry I, and shall show in like manner the limits of its requirements in point of date. The seal itself is figured in Plate 10, and may be thus described :

Obverse.—The king is habited in a closely-fitting under garment, sleeves tight at the wrist, over which is a loose cloak, with an embroidered border expressed by a dotted line, gathered by a button in front of the right shoulder and thrown over the left arm, floating out in ample folds behind and on either side of the throne. The hair of the king is cut short, the crown is plain, surmounted by a cross, and having appended to it on either side a triple fastening. Both arms are extended horizontally from the elbow; in the right hand a sword elevated in bend sinister, in the left an orb, ornamented at the upper part by a ring of dots, and surmounted by a cross pattée with a supplementary foot, on which is a long-necked bird intended for a dove. The throne of the king is similar to that described in the third seal. In the field on either side is an estoile of eight points, the points in saltire terminating in a knob.

Legend: + HENRICVS DEI GRACIA REX ANGLORVM, within two dotted *annuli*.

Reverse.—The king habited in a hauberk and continuous coif of chain mail, with plain goad-spur, holding erect in the right hand a sword slightly turned to the left, the point entering into the legend's space; in the left an oval shield, presenting only the inner surface to view, the outer edge of which shows a row of rivets by which the junction of leather

and metal was effected, and the reins, mounted on a horse passant to the left, whose trappings consist of head gear, bridle, reins, peytrel with seven circular pendants, saddle, saddle cloth, and belly-band.

Legend : a rose ; HENRICVS DEI GRATIA DVX NORMANNO-RVM, within two annuli formed by dotted lines. Dr. three five-sixteenth inches.

Original impressions of the fourth type.—I. Detached seals in British Museum, xxxix, 9. A very fine impression in red wax, unfortunately not quite perfect ; two-thirds of the lower edges and portion of the lower part of the field are wanting. It has been repaired.

II. Same series, xxxii, 50, A. Central part only of a fairly good impression in yellowish white wax ; the edges and legends entirely destroyed. It has been repaired with red wax.

III. Same series, xxxv, 1, A (*Sloane*). The remains of a fair impression, now very imperfect, of a light red-coloured wax. It has been repaired, to prevent further decay from lamination.

IV. Detached seal among the Durham charters. A good impression in white wax, varnished yellow, cracked, and repaired with opaque wax ; the left hand upper corner is wanting, and the remains of the label may be seen in the body of the wax.

V. Durham Charter, 2da 1ma Regalium H. i, No. 8. A fair impression in yellow wax varnished, the right side imperfect. This charter is especially valuable, being directed to Gerard, Archbishop of York, who died on the 21st of May, 1108, and thus demonstrating that the fourth type of seal was in use one year before the date appropriated by the forger of the charters, dated 1109, carrying seals of the third type. The text of the document is as follows :—

Henricus rex Anglorum . G. archiepiscopo . & R. episcopo . omnibus vicecomitibus . & baronibus . & fidelibus francis . & Anglis regni anglie . salutem. Precipio quod tota terra & homines Sancti Cuthberti & monachorum ejus sint quieti de Schir' . & hundr' . & Tridins . & Wapentaches . & auxiliis vicecomitum . & prepositorum . & plenarie habeant Curiam suam . sicut habuerunt temporibus antecessorum meorum . & omnes res suas ita bene & quiete & in pace teneant . cum saccा . & socca . & tol . & team . & cum omnibus consuetudinibus sicut unquam melius & quietius tenuerunt . & si de ulla re post mortem . R. episcopi sunt dissaisiti . precipio ut sine mora sint resaisiti . quia omnes res Sancti Cuthberti in mea manu . & protectione sunt sicut mea propria Elemo-

sina . & si aliquis eos injuste dissaisierit ; aut aliquam injuriam vel violentiam fecerit emendabit michi fracturam pacis mee. Testibus R. Episcopo lincolniensi . & R. comite de mellento . & Rogero de bigot . & Urso de abetot . apud Cliuam.

According to Ordericus, Ranulph Bishop of Durham returned to England in 1107. Robert Bloet, Bishop of Lincoln, was appointed in 1092 and died 1123. He was Lord Chancellor also during the first few years of his episcopate.

VI. British Museum, Harley Charter, 43, C. 12. An indistinct specimen in brown wax, the edge of the obverse defective ; the seal has been repaired. The date of this charter is between 1100 and 1125.

H. Rex Anglorum Radulpho Episcopo Cicestrensi. & omnibus ministris suis de Sudsex' salutem. Sciatis quod sicut Abbas de bello & monachi dirationaverunt coram me quod non habent illas terras quas vos dicebatis eos habere scilicet Ouingedene . Codingele . Betelesford . Daningawurde . Scouueswelle . Baressele . Winenham . Wertesce . Brembrescnoc . Seuredeswelle . que antiquitus pertinebant ad Alsistonam . & que faciunt septem hidas de quinquaginta hidis que jacent in Alsiston & in suis pertinentiis . sic precipio quod amodo inde liberi sint & quieti . nec aliquis eis inde amplius molestus sit . sed sint ab iis terris . & his hidis omnino liberi & quieti . sicut de illis quas nec habent nec inde saisiti sunt. Precipio etiam regali auctoritate quod manerium illorum quod vocatur Alsiston' quod pater meus ecclesie de bello cum aliis terris pro anima sua dedit sit ita liberum & quietum a Sirez & hundre; & omnibus consuetudinibus terrene servitutis sicut pater meus ipse illud liberius & quietius tenuit . & nominatim de opere pontis londonie . & opere castelli de peuenesel . & hoc precipio super forisfacturam meam. Teste Willelmo de ponte'archa. Apud Burn'.

Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, died on the 14th of December, A.D. 1125. The two taxes here incidentally mentioned are interesting to the antiquarian ; the one relates to the repair of London Bridge, the other to the maintenance of Pevensey Castle, situated on the coast of Sussex, a formidable stronghold in the Norman age.

VII. British Museum, Cotton Charter, xi, 60. The remaining part of a fine and thin impression, in nearly white wax ; the edges are wanting and the seal has been repaired. The date of this charter must be taken to lie between 1107 and 1115, or 1120 and 1123, according to the interpretation of the R. Episcopus Herefordie as Rainalmus (11th of August, 1107, to 28th of October, 1115) or Richard de Capella (16th January, 1120, to 15th August, 1127). Rannulf, the Lord Chancellor, was appointed in 1107, and died in 1123.

H. rex Anglorum . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . & Baronibus totius Anglie . salutem. Sciatis quia R. Episcopus Herefordie dedit & concessit Waltero de Glocestra . & heredibus suis Herefordiam parvam . & Ullingewicam in servitio . ij . militum . & ego ei donum illud concedo . testibus . Episcopo Sarum . & Ranulpho Cancellario . & S. de Glintona . & Ricardo filio Pontii. Apud Meddrehola.

VIII. British Museum, Harley Charter, 111, B. 46. An indistinct impression in white wax, the edge entirely destroyed and part of the field wanting. The date may be taken to be very shortly after the consecration of Richard, Bishop of Hereford, viz. the 16th of January, 1120 ; and the deed itself appears to be the original deed of restitution of temporalities or lay investiture of the bishop by the king.

.H. rex Anglorum Adam de port . & omnibus baronibus suis & fidelibus francis . & Anglis de Herefort scira . & de Glocestra scira . & de Salope scira ; salutem. Sciatis me dedisse & concessisse Ricardo episcopo episcopatum de Herefort : ita bene & honorifice & plenarie . cum soca & sacca . & toll . & tem . & infungeneteof & omnibus aliis consuetudinibus infra burgum & extra in bosco & plano & in aquis sicut aliquis antecessorum ejus umquam melius tenuit . testibus . Radulpho . cantuariensi Archiepiscopo . & Ricardo episcopo londoniensi . & Willielmo . Wintoniensi episcopo . & Rogero salesberiensi episcopo . & Roberto lincolensi episcopo . & Rannulpho . dunelmensi episcopo . & Tcoldo . Wigorniensi episcopo . & Willelmo exoniensi episcopo . & Johanne batoniensi episcopo . & Ernulfo Roffensi episcopo . & Bead' cices-trensi episcopo . & Bernardo de sancto David . & Gurgano landavensi episcopo . & David pangorensi episcopo . & Ranulpho cancellario . & Stephano comite moritonie . & Rannulpho cestrensi comite . & Roberto filio Regis . & Nigello de albinni . & Willelmo . & Ricardo filii Balde-wini. Apud Westmonasterium.

The dates of consecration and death of the various dignitaries of the church mentioned in the charter are as follow, and the period covered by all appears to be from April, 1120, to September, 1122.

Richard, Bishop of Hereford, consecrated 16th January, 1120—died 15th August, 1127.

Radulfus, Archbishop of Canterbury, cons. 17th May, 1114—died 19th September, 1122.

Richard, Bishop of London, cons. 26th July, 1108—died 16th January, 1128.

William, Bishop of Winchester, cons. 11th August, 1107—died 25th January, 1129.

Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, cons. 11th August, 1107—died 4th December, 1139.

Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, cons. December, 1093—died 9th January, 1123.

Rannulph, Bishop of Durham, cons. 5th June, 1099—died 5th September, 1128.

Teoldus (Teoulfus, *Hardy*), Bishop of Worcester, cons. 27th June, 1115—died 20th October, 1123.

William, Bishop of Exeter, cons. 11th August, 1107.

John, Bishop of Bath, cons. 1088—died 26th Dec. 1122.

Ernulf, Bishop of Rochester, cons. 26th December, 1114—died 15th March 1124.

Bead' is perhaps an error for Radulfus (*Hardy*), Bishop of Chichester, cons. 1091—died 14th December, 1125.

Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, cons. 19th September, 1115.

Gurganus (Urbanus, *Hardy*), Bishop of Llandaff, cons. 11th August, 1107—died 1133.

David, Bishop of Bangor, cons. 4th April, 1120.

Ranulphus, the Chancellor, died in 1123.

The sees of Norwich and Bath were vacant, the one from 22nd August, 1119, to 12th June, 1121; the other from 26th December, 1122, to 26th August, 1123.

ix. British Museum, Campbell Charter, xxi, 6. An impression in red wax, with the legends gone, and the reverse side very indistinct. It has been repaired and is enclosed in an old bag or case of damask stuff, perhaps of the sixteenth century. The date which must be assigned to this charter ranges about or very shortly after February, 1123. The charter text is not reproduced here, as it is almost identical with that given above at No. I in the account of the third seal. The only differences are in the spelling of some words which are gradually losing their shape and pronunciation at this period. The name of William, the Archbishop of Canterbury, has been substituted for that of Anselm, and it becomes apparent from this that a new charter was obtained from the king at changes in the archiepiscopacy. William de Corbellio, or de Corboyl, was elected on the 4th of February, 1123, and consecrated upon the 18th of the same month. He died on the 26th of November, 1136, but probably little time elapsed after his consecration before he obtained this new charter for his cathedral; indeed, the charter itself may have formed a component element in the archbishop's title to the possessions of the cathedral, and have been issued as a matter of course immediately upon the completion of the ceremonial of the consecration.

x. British Museum, Cotton Charter, vii, 2.

A good impression in brown wax, faced with varnish, and encircled by a turned wooden ring which is now cracked and shrunk. It has been appended by a label cut out at right angles from the rest of the deed at the bottom. The internal evidence afforded by the charter indicates that the events mentioned took place between 1124 and 1133 ; the former being the date of appointment of Geoffrey Rufus, the new Lord Chancellor, the latter the date of his death, 6th August, 1133. William, Bishop of Exeter, resigned on account of blindness, and died, according to Roger Wenderover, in 1136. Queen Matilda, spoken of as already dead, died in 1118.

.H. rex Anglorum . Willelmo Exoniensi episcopo . & Ricardo filio Baldewini vicecomiti . & Preposito Exoniensi . & omnibus baronibus & fidelibus suis Devenesciræ . & omnibus burgensibus & ministris suis Exoniensibus ; salutem. Sciatis me concessisse æcclesiam Sanctæ Trinitatis Lundoniæ . & canoniciis ibidem deo. famulantibus pro anima Mathildis Reginæ conjugis meæ . xxv . libras . ad scalam . per annum de redditibus ipsius Reginæ in Exonia . quas predicta Regina Mathild' eis dedit in vita sua. Et volo & firmiter precipio . quod Vicecomes qui-
cuque sit vel fuerit in Exonia . eas reddat ipsis canoniciis . singulis annis . sicut . unquam melius & plenius redditæ fuerunt. Et eisdem terminis anni quibus reddi solebant . testibus Gaufrido Cancellario . & Nigello de Albinni . & Gaufrido de Glintone. Apud Portesmudam.

xi. British Museum, Additional Charter, 19,572.

A small portion, in white wax, of the centre of the seal. The date of this charter, a fine specimen of bold hand-writing, is not easy to determine.

.H. rex Anglorum . Ricardo basset & A. de Ver & vicecomitibus & omnibus burgensibus suis de Geldefort . salutem. Precipio quod homines Gaufridi purcelli hastiari mei de Chatishilla & de Chedelingofalt sint ita bene & juste in pace de theloneo & omni consuetudine sicut fuerunt tempore patris sui . teste Milone Glocestriæ. Apud Wintoniam.

xii. British Museum, Harley Charter, 111, B. 47.

A fragmentary example, in a light brown wax, varnished with a darker colour, now containing only a small part of the centre of the field. The date of this charter cannot be ascertained with any accuracy.

H. rex Anglorum . Episcopo lincolniensi & Vicecomitibus & omnibus Baronibus & fidelibus suis Francis & Anglis . de Lincoleisira . & de Legrecestresira . & Northamtonsira ; salutem. Sciatis quia concessi Abbatii de Salebia et monachis suis consuetudinem suam scilicet ut habeant socham & sacham & tol . & them . & infangente of in terra sua

de Stanfort & de Crul . & de Stalingeburc . & omnes alias consuetudines suas . ita bene & plenarie & honorifice in omnibus rebus sicut melius & plenarius habent per aliam terram suam de eborascisira . teste . Eustachio filio Johannis. Apud Wintoniam.

xiii. Durham Charter, 1ma, 2da, regalium, L. i, No. 11.

A fine impression in yellow wax, the edge chipped in a few places. The date must be placed between the 27th of June, 1109, the consecration of Thomas, Archbishop of York, and the 9th of January, 1123, the day of Robert Bloet's death. The text runs thus :

H. rex Anglorum . T. Eboracensi Archiepiscopo . & Nigello de Albinni . & Roberto de Heriz Vicecomiti de Notingebam . & Omnibus Baronibus & Fidelibus suis de Eboraco . & de Notingehamscira ; salutem. Volo & concedo & firmiter precipio quod Sanctus Cuthbertus & Monachi sui de Dunelmo bene & in pace & quiete & honorifice teneant amodo in perpetuum . terras . & molendina . & omnia quæ in Notingehamscira habent & tenent . concession mea . sicut Carta mea testatur . quam ego firmavi . quam habent. Et amodo non ponantur in placitum . testibus Roberto episcopo . Lincolnensi . & Nigello de Albinni . & Wilhelmo de Tanc' . & Radulpho basset . apud Westmonasterium.

xiv. Durham Charter, 2da, 1ma, regalium, No. 9.

A fine impression, in white wax, varnished yellow. The date can be calculated alone from the mention of Archbishop Thomas, who was consecrated on the 27th of June, 1109, and outlived the king. There is therefore a range of years between 1109 and 1135 for the charter. The text is :

.H. rex. Anglorum . T. Archiepiscopo Eboracensi . & Episcopo Dunelmensi & omnibus Baronibus & Fidelibus suis de Norhumberlanda . & de Eboracscira & de Haliefolc ; salutem. Sciat me concessisse donum quod Nigellus de Albini fecit deo & Sancto Cuthberto & ecclesie de Dunelm' in Elemosina . & in dominium . terram scilicet de Bermentona & quicquid ei pertinet. Et volo & precipio firmiter at bene & in pace & quiete & honorifice teneat . & in dominio . sicut Nigellus concessit . teste . Gaufrido de Gl'intana. Apud Rothomagum.

This fourth or "star" type of King Henry II's seal has been engraved by Speed, in his *Historie*, p. 448, copied afterwards by Sandford in his *Genealogy*, plate A ; and the *Trésor de Numismatique*, plate ii, fol. 1, gives an illustration of the seal above mentioned from Cotton Charter vii, 2, by the process termed Collastype. The plate given here is from two Durham charters which are the best of any examples yet known. The new edition of Rymer's *Fædera*, edited by Clarke and Holbroke, fol., London, 1816, has at page 6 a very fine steel engraving of this type. This

was executed by J. Basire for the Commissioners of Public Records, and copies of the plate may be seen in the Appendix to the Commissioners' Reports and in Additional MS. 21,056, fol. 3, in the British Museum. A photograph of the seal is included among the *British Museum Photographs*, published under direction of Charles Harrison, Esq.

Having now disposed of the four known types of seals of Henry I, of which actual impressions exist, there remains yet another to be described, which I am unable to identify with any extant example. It has been engraved by Sandford in the work to which a reference has been already given, and while I call it provisionally the fifth seal it may be thus described:—

FIFTH SEAL OF HENRY I.—Obverse.—This side of the seal is exactly similar in all respects to that already described in the account of the fourth type.

Reverse.—The king in a hauberk and continuous coif of chain mail, with a plain goad spur, *holding in the right hand a lance flag*, plain, in the left an oval shield presenting only the inner surface to view, and the reins of the horse, mounted on a horse passant to the left, whose trappings consist of head gear, bridle, reins, peytrel with three pendants, plain saddle and bellyband.

Legend +HENRICVS DEI GRATIA DVX NORMANNORVM.

Diameter, 3 5-16ths of an inch.

I must remark here, as I have already done in a precisely parallel case with the seals of William II,¹ that I am unable to assign any date for the employment of this seal, as I know no deed which purports to have been sealed with it. I am inclined to consider that it must be rejected altogether as a fanciful reproduction of a seal from a very imperfect impression put into the hands of an engraver, and solely due to the attempt to perfect upon paper a minutely detailed representation of the fourth seal. Even with this allowance it is difficult to account for so remarkable a drawing, and I very much regret that space and expense prevent my replacing it here. Had I been able to do so it would have been instructive to compare it with the figures of the four genuine seals.

¹ See *Journal*, 1872, p. 140.

ON UTTOXETER AND THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS OF THE PARISH AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

BY F. BEDFORD, ESQ.

ON the occasion of the visit of this Association to this neighbourhood, I have been requested to prepare a paper upon objects of interest connected with Uttoxeter or its vicinity.

The subject on which it was first hinted to me to write was the Traders' Tokens of Uttoxeter, of the seventeenth century. A paper on this topic would, however, I think, be of too insignificant a character for the occasion of your excursion to this town from a great distance, and for the vastly more important objects of your Society. It would be beyond measure more interesting to you to have pointed out prehistoric sites, if they exist at Uttoxeter—places where Britons reared their huts, altars which they dedicated to their worship, and barrows which they raised over their dead—camps where stern Roman warriors revelled and bid defiance, and spots where subsequent Saxon occupiers have also left visible memorials of themselves. Such relics of earlier races of people do exist in the parish and neighbourhood of Uttoxeter. Several of these remains I discovered before I published my history of the town, and in which they are already referred to. Perhaps you are aware that I have since also been fortunate in making discoveries of several Roman stations near Uttoxeter. These I had just completed describing in course of preparing my History of Uttoxeter for a second and final edition, when I received the request to which I have just adverted. Besides, I have memoranda of some early domestic architecture at Uttoxeter. By the merest chance several interesting monuments remain in the present church from the previous and more interesting one, and the tower of the old church has also been spared. These and one or two others are all subjects of a purely archæological character, and fully illustrate Uttoxeter in those departments of research as made to the present time. I will therefore, with your for-

bearance and consent, attempt to describe the various remains I have specified (and to which I have had the honour of conducting you) in the due order of the periods to which they belong.

Of a supposed prior date than the earliest relics I have particularised, is a narrow flint which I found in 1871, in the drift gravel at Barrow Hill. A perforated flint of the same geological epoch was met with by a farmer a little south of Uttoxeter many years back, and was given to Mr. Molyneux. No part of the flint has been worked except the perforation.

The most interesting Celtic object in the parish of Uttoxeter is probably Toot Hill, on the highest part of Uttoxeter High Wood, as it is not only a barrow in which the primitive inhabitants of the neighbourhood interred their dead, as did the Romans at a subsequent era, but it is also an altar dedicated to Toot, or Teutates, the Thoth of Egypt, deified in the dog-star, the Hermes of the Greeks, and the Mercury of the Romans, whose great prototype was regarded as of antediluvian days and as the origin of the wisdom of Pythagoras and the divine philosophy of Plato, transmitted in hieroglyphics on stone pillars which, Josephus states, survived the Deluge. On this hill the Beltine fires were lit in honour of Baal or the Sun on the eve of May, the eve of Midsummer day, and on the first of November, and there is strong evidence of the fact of the custom in the circumstance of the soil on the top of the tumulus being burnt to redness.

Toot Hill is rather of an elongated form, its length being about seventy feet, with a height of about seven to nine feet. On opening it several years ago I found that its eastern extremity consisted of fine loamy soil, and that as we proceeded from there the material of the mound became very hard. In one of the openings made in the loamy soil I found a piece of a Roman urn. About four yards from the eastern edge of the barrow I discovered a small heap of burnt human ashes about four feet from the surface. The ashes were not crushed or mingled with the soil, and might have been deposited in a cloth of skin. A large stone lay on the south side of the remains, and four feet beneath these, on the floor of the tumulus, I met with some fragments of human bones and portions of a Celtic cinerary

urn, but, although we proceeded beyond the centre of the mound with a trench, no further indications of human remains presented themselves, nor anything else of interest except fragments of charcoal, which seem invariably to lie at the floor of barrows. The soil at the top presented a red appearance, as mentioned, as if it had been burnt. The principal part of the barrow was evidently Celtic, and probably of an early period, and I think it might be inferred that the eastern portion, consisting of light soil, and taken in conjunction with the piece of Roman pottery found in it, had been added by the Romans for their own funereal purposes.

The name of Toot Hill has, I believe, very much to do with the derivation of Uttoxeter, a subject which has been regarded as very perplexing if not insoluble. Space will not allow me to enter upon the discussion of it to the extent I have been doing elsewhere, and I will therefore only give the result at which I have arrived with respect to the Wotocheshede of the Doomsday survey, without, except in one instance, dwelling upon the many variations of the word which have been transmitted to us in old documents or verbally only. The exception I have made is in Tocester, which is the nearest approximation I can meet with to the name of Uttoxeter in the Doomsday records. The *cheshede* evidently expresses the Latin *sedes*, which has the same meaning as camp, and I think it is equally satisfactory that the prefix *Woto*, especially taking it in connection with the prefix in *Tocester*, is a variation of *Toot*, or *Leut*, and therefore Wotocheshede implies the Tootcester, or *castra*, situated near the altar dedicated to Toot.

This Toot Hill is situated on the south of Uttoxeter, but I have also discovered a Toot Hill on an elevated position north of the town. A large portion of the mound has been carried away ; but on exploring the remaining part, I met with a serrated flint, it being part of a flint knife. I also found a piece of a bevelled flint.

Descending from the Celtic barrow-altar on the fine commanding eminence of Uttoxeter High Wood, to Woodgate or Woodvilla, access is gained to an immense barrow, which is only regarded as a rabbit warren, and which exists in a pasture field on the north side of the lane. It is some

one hundred and twenty yards in circumference, and has a height of nine or ten feet. I have not been permitted at present to explore this gravehill owing to the rabbits it is infested with. In an adjoining pasture field are two remains of great interest, which I am disposed to regard as hut-circles on which Celtic habitations stood. They are only a few spaces apart, and as to extent and form they have an exact resemblance, being each twelve yards across and surrounded by a fosse about a yard and a half wide and two feet deep. They have also a slightly convex surface, with outer edges some two feet higher than the level of the land. The encircling ditches and raised edges were evidently intended to ensure dryness to the floors of the huts.

Several bronze celts have been met with in the neighbourhood of Uttoxeter, of which I possess one hatchet-shaped celt and one angarm celt. Mr. Lucas, of Bentley Hall, has one of the latter kind in his collection, and found close to Swilcar oak on Needwood forest.

Without attempting here to discuss whether the Etocetum of Antoninus is at Wall, near Lichfield, or at Uttoxeter, I will proceed to describe such Romano-British remains as it has been my gratification to discover in the neighbourhood of Uttoxeter. These consist of a considerable length of the Rykeneld Street, the Via Devina, the Maiden Way, the Salters' Way, or the Port Way, as the same way is diversely called, and which has hitherto been supposed and declared to have been a considerable distance on the west of Uttoxeter, and also of several Roman encampments, besides a variety of pieces of Roman pottery which I have been enabled to collect, through many years of assiduous attention, from Rocester.

In 1865, I pointed out the existence, for the first time, of the Port-way at the entrance of Tutbury from Burton, and its direction through Fald, Coton, by Draycot Tollgate, and in the deep old lane to Moreton, and I have found pieces of Roman pottery both at Tutbury and Hanbury. From my recollection of the churchyard of one of these places being on a terrace, I should have no hesitation in stating that the site is a Roman camp, especially as it is from the churchyards I obtained the pottery, by picking the pieces up from newly dug out soil. I believe the

Rykeneld Street, in its continuation towards Uttoxeter, proceeded down the deep and wide watercourse by the side of the road through Marchington Woodlands to Netherland Green; where, at the angle formed by the roads to Uttoxeter by "Hart's Farm" and to Scounslow Green, it proceeds up a large ditch across several fields to the other lane from the high wood to Scounslow Green. From this point it bends to the right, and it is in a deep ditch, which is always dry, and which is close to the footroad to the top of the high wood, where it appears on the opposite side of the hedge to nearly Balance Hill House, the residence of Mr. Kynnersley, where I lose its course for only a short distance. I believe, however, it made for Maiden's Wall Well, close to, for in Maiden's Wall Well there is clearly some connection with the Rykeneld Street, or Maiden Way, the latter giving the name to the well. It is highly probable that the way went up High Street in Uttoxeter, as it signifies Old Street, but that it exists in Slade Lane I have met with good documentary evidence to show. This old lane branches out of High Street at the wharf of the disused Cauldon Canal, and it was only on Saturday, the 20th of July (this July, 1872) last, that I found two pieces of Roman pottery within a hundred yards of the lane at a newly commenced brickyard lying betwixt the Ashbourne Road on Uttoxeter Heath and the lane itself. The written evidence I have spoken of, of this lane being a part of the Via Devina, is in an ancient terrier of the parish of Uttoxeter, or survey thereof made early in the seventeenth century, where it is distinctly called "The Port Way," or Salter's Lane, the former meaning ancient way, and the latter having been acquired by it being the pack way for salt out of Cheshire during the Roman occupation of the kingdom. I have made numerous inquiries whether any one ever heard the lane called by either of the above names, and from one man I learnt that he believed he had once heard it called "Sawter's Wey." However, in the survey, besides the name there given directly to the lane, numerous closes of land are spoken of as shooting or abutting on the Port Way, as in the following instances:—

NO. OF PLOT.

84. Another close shooting on the Portway.
81. One little close shooting on the Portway.

68. One close of pasture adjoining the Portway.
78. One close on the north side of the Portway.
88. Two closes together near the Portway.

Some plots of land in the vicinity of those said to shoot on the Portway have the name of Cawsey Croft, which must likewise have reference to the paved way of the Romans, the Rykeneld Street, as it existed in Slade Lane. The lane is good for a little length, but towards the Tean and on to Sparth it is only perceptible in places. The way from Spath then goes up Stramshall; and at the church, where it has doubtless been deepened in modern times, it bears to the right, and for about a mile its course is taken as the way to Hollington, although the old way is not always gone upon by the modern road. In one place it is seen at the right hand as a fosse, with several tall poplars growing in it; after a while it is observed to mark a field at the left side of the present road, and its completeness is uncertain till Clay Lane is reached, and which conducts out of the Hollington Road to the High Farm, but is merely a way going through several open fields to the house. At this point the Rykeneld Street bends to the left from the direction of the Hollington Road, and turns towards the High Farm, and for some distance it exists as a fosse on the right hand over the edge. It subsequently appears on the left hand again, but damaged by agricultural cultivation, and is the cause of some singular angles in the fences. The High Farmhouse is built upon the Roman way, and when the house was erected it was found that the way was paved. It passes from this house across land having the name of sicles, which is probably a corruption of strata, meaning paved way, and sweeps down the hill side in all its pristine perfection, presenting an appearance sufficient to gladden the heart of any genuine archaeologist. At the bottom of the hill it crosses a little brook, and then passes into the Madeley field. Its course is readily traceable along the west side of this field into a lane called Watery Lane, from whence it may be followed with but little difficulty to Fole Bank, where, on the north side, it exists in a deep ravine which has been cut for it. From Fole Bank the Rykeneld Street lies close on the side of the Cheadle Road as far as Checkley, as a deep fosse way, and a footroad did formerly go along it on the east

side of Tean, but its course beyond there to Mediolanum and Chester through Stoke I have not attempted to trace.

Another Roman way starts out of the Madeley Field to Rocester. It remains in the fields tolerably good to Hollington, and afterwards it may be found in deep dykes in various places, as close to the footroad from Croxton Abbey by Mr. Carrington's, of Pointhorn, and in the land of Mr. Hinckley on the south of the Hollington Way to Rocester. It came out at Rocester, not south of the town, but on the north side of Rocester Crossing, whilst another road from the direction of Uttoxeter by the west side of Low Fields comes out on the south side of the crossing at the station at Rocester, from which place a similar ancient Romano-British way proceeded over the churned close on Rocester north, cutting the angles of the present roads, and passed by Barrow Hill into Derbyshire, and I believe a portion of it exists in a field adjoining the Ashbourne Road after getting past Calwich Bank.

Having as clearly as I am able, and as minutely as necessary perhaps, described the line of the Rykeneld Street by Uttoxeter, with a branch out of it at Madeley Holme to Rocester, allow me to point out for the first time several Roman encampments situated on the Rykeneld Street. The first to which I will beg your attention, although it is the last in the order of discovery, is situated about three parts of a mile from the centre of Uttoxeter, south of the town, on the way to the High Wood from Balance Hill. It is reached from the top of this hill by a lane branching to the right hand. It is quadrangular in form, and embraces one whole field centrally, and portions of some six or seven other fields. Its north side is quite perfect in the form of a terrace raised nearly three feet high across a field known as the Sandpit Field. The residence of Mrs. Sneyd Kynnersley stands on the eastern side. The west side of the camp is perceptible over the hedge on the west of the lane, whilst its southern outline is more striking, although much broken up and defaced, on passing through the footroad still at the extremity of the lane. A fine terrace runs from the vicinity of the camp down Balance Hill Close, which is a large pasture field betwixt the Hockley Crossing and Uttoxeter Station. I have pieces of pottery from the camp, and the end of an amphora from near it.

The fosse way which I have traced over the High Wood passed by the remain ; and Maiden's Well, although most likely of Celtic date, would be resorted to by the cohort of the camp. From the mud about this well I have recovered a piece of a Runic stone of a tuberous and dark character, with ogham characters on it.

I rather suspect a site at Uttoxeter, near Lord Gardner's house, as one having been of Roman occupation ; but as there are no features about it very striking, and as I have no other evidence of its nature, I will not dwell upon it.

The case however is different with Stramshall, in Uttoxeter parish, on the Rykeneld Street. It was a place of much importance, and as a Roman encampment rather peculiar. Stramshall is spelt in a variety of ways, and some of them would allow the inference that they express the meaning of a stronghold or a fortified place, and will venture to give the variations of its spelling. The earliest is, perhaps, *Straguicesholle*, then *Stranshall*, *Stronshall*, *Strongshall*, the latter way of spelling it being found in the old Uttoxeter survey. In the first variation there is, I think, the Latin *chester* expressed in *cesholle*, which at once indicates the character of Stramshall as a *castrum* or camp.

I was led to discover that Stramshall was a site of Roman occupation by appearances in a field belonging to Mr. Carrington, of Pointhorn. On making inquiries respecting them, I was told they had been occasioned by a house having stood there a long time back. This I at once expressed a doubt about ; and, from its terrace-like form, I felt assured it was a portion of a Roman camp, and having obtained permission to dig, I took my spade at the earliest opportunity and made some five openings, in all of which I met with fragments of Roman pottery. One piece was in white paste with a dark green glaze upon it, and is probably the handle of a pitcher lamp. Another interesting fragment is the rim of a vessel with the herring-bone ornamentation upon its inner edge, but I met with nothing entire. The situation is adjacent to Stramshall Church on the right hand side the Rykeneld Street, and an antique well there is surrounded by a pavement more than a foot beneath the soil. This discovery led to a further scrutiny of the land about Stramshall, and I found that the north

side of the embankment was bounded by a vallum and fosse extending up the land and by the farmhouse on Mr. Carrington's property, and ran to the top of the field out of which land has been taken for Stramshall Church. The side of a cabbage-garden just west of the church forms the face of another terrace. The garden has yielded numerous pieces of Roman pottery. Other terraces exist on the south side of the road, nearly opposite to the south side of the church; and this part of the encampment on its south edge, instead of being bounded by a vallum, as is the case on the north side, has the glacis of a terrace where it has been allowed to remain. The first terrace on entering Stramshall exists in a croft close to the first house on the left side of the road, and is occupied by Mr. Ede, from whose garden and croft I have obtained several fragments of Roman pottery and one Roman copper coin which is almost defaced. The only other Roman coin I have in possession, as found in this neighbourhood, was dug up on Uttoxeter Heath, and is in brass, but the impressions it bore are quite obliterated. Passing over Stramshall Hill we find in a large pasture-field, known, I believe, as the Ransoms, and belonging to the farm of the Hill Farm House, three remarkable terraces only a short distance apart, and extending across the field. There appears to have been a vallum along the edge of each raised bank, and I think there needs scarcely be a doubt that they were constructed for defensive purposes on the side of the hill. From the top of Stramshall a way has been led down along the side of a terrace to the River Tean, where the immense bank of the river has been destroyed, and the earth, with that from several pits in the field, has been employed in pushing the river seventy yards from its course by a breadth of fifty-five yards, and which forms consequently a plateau partly encircled by the river. The space appears to have been a sort of platform, and to have been marked by divisions, and it may be seen from the Beamhurst or New Road by an old cottage. I decidedly connect the spot with the Roman period, and as to the pits, they could not have been excavated for marl, as they would only afford hard marl, stone, or shale.

We have already traced the course of the Rykeneld Street to Madeley Holme from Stramshall, and there we are brought

to another Roman encampment of great interest ; but it was reached from Stramshall by another way besides that of the Salter's Way, for from the vicinity of the defensive terraces on the west of Stramshall a fine old fosseway commenced, and is traceable down to Spring Field House in the fields on the north of the lane to the Beamhurst toll-gate. Part of the way is in the brook-course from Spring Field House to the gate, and the trustees of roads there actually claim a right of road down the brook-course now. From there, however, I can only find bits of the fosseway on the left hand of the road through Beamhurst, the greatest length being near the residence of H. Mountford, Esq. It turned in where Madeley House is, or near to it, from Breamhurst, where it retains its primitive character, and actually makes for the side of the Madeley field, and not for the farmhouse, although it is used as a communication with the premises of the house.

The Roman encampment at Madeley Holme is situated at the south-east angle of the Great Madeley field. Before this site, however, became a scene of inquiry to me, I was more concerned about the nature or character of an adjoining field which I had incidentally heard called "Cheshire Meadow"; and visiting it repeatedly, I was informed that carved stonework, and, I understood, foundations of buildings, had been met with during the progress of draining operations. This field is at the east extremity of the Madeley field. Further visits resulted in my ascertaining that a meadow lying south of the Madeley field had the denomination of "Wall Croft", which is quite as expressive as Cheshire Meadow. This induced me to examine a separating plantation which I perceived hid a perfect narrow fosseway with a vallum along its outer edge, from which Wall Croft has derived its name. This interesting fosseway is a continuation of the one from the west side of Stramshall. By the side of the Wall Croft it is only broken up for a short distance at the top of the Madeley field, where it makes a turn to the left on the opposite side of the hedge in the Cheshire Meadow, in an immensely deep cutting which gradually slants upwards towards the centre of the meadow. This clearly shows that this fosseway was constructed to communicate with the field, which has a name indicating it to be a Roman camp, or in the vicinity of a Roman camp. The

deep fosse was a puzzling affair to me for a long time, until I was enabled to connect with it the fosseway by the side of Wall Croft.

Whether Cheshire Meadow is the site of a Roman villa or camp, I have no further means of showing than is afforded by its name, and in the information I have picked up and given before ; but of the terraced space of land at the angle of the Madeley field I have no hesitation in speaking with confidence, and of stating it to be a Roman encampment. It would be difficult to make out its total extent ; but its east side remains perfect, with an accompanying fosse, as well as portions of the north side. As I always find the spade to be the best solver of the character of antique remains, I dug on the encampment in 1871, and found numerous fragments of Roman pottery. The part I selected for exploration was the eastern edge of the terrace. Mr. Vernon kindly came and assisted me, and dug to find whether there were any road-pavements, which was the case. Indeed, nearly the whole of this field shows marks of occupation ; and formerly, when I first became acquainted with it, large stones lay about, and one had a moulding on it. Near the camp, on the north side, there is a dish-shaped place, which I found to be paved with boulders, and large stones lie all about it.

Being at the angle of two Roman ways, the Rykeneld Street and the way out of it to Rocester and Littlechester, near Derby, the encampment at Madeley Holme must have been of particular importance, although both it and the others I have described were undoubtedly for the protection of the traffic on the Rykeneld Street against the Cangi inhabiting this woodland district ; whilst the deep fosseways were intended probably to hide the movements of the Romans from the observation of the primitive inhabitants, not unjustly jealous of their more civilised and aggressive invaders.

Our thoughts have already been carried to Rocester, which is almost exactly east of Madeley Holme ; but the station there was probably the encampment at Barrow Hill, where Capt. Dawson has met with Roman coins and several pieces of Roman pottery, three or four being Samian, and two being ornamented.

Rocester itself was supposed to be a Roman station in the

last century, from a spear-head and several Roman coins being found there. But whether it was a station or town, it would, perhaps, be difficult to determine. That it was a place of some consequence, there is strong ground for belief. The principal space of occupation comprised the site of Messrs. Houldsworth's Factory, the field called the "Frame Yard", probably part of the churchyard, but certainly of the portion of late enclosed from Frame Yard. An interesting quadrangular remain, with a central circular platform, exists in the Frame Yard, being very likely a *prætorium*. I have collected from Rocester during a number of years, and by being permitted to dig over a large quantity of earth from an excavation at the Factory of Messrs. Houldsworth, many fragments of Roman pottery of various classes of manufacture. The collection comprises portions of Samian, numerous fragments of light coloured Salopian ware, others of dark blue Caistor manufacture, one piece only of black Upchurch pottery, and a few of light and dark red or brown description, and coarse in quality. One piece of Samian has an obscene phallic representation upon it. On a nice portion of a Samian bowl there appears a small piece of ornamentation, and a representation of a lion embossed in relief. The bottom of another Samian bowl bears the name of the maker, which is *OF. IVOVM*. I am led to understand that that maker's name is unique. Amongst the light coloured pottery are necks of *amphoræ* and portions of large and small domestic vessels. One nice fragment has a fine broad moulded rim, consisting of a wide outer moulding, a hollow, and a small inner moulding. Another good piece is a part of a *mortarium* with *L. FECIT* stamped on the rim. The missing part of the inscription would be on the contrary side of the rim, which is not recovered; but Mr. Lucas of Bentley Hall believes the whole would probably read *DIV. TVL. FECIT*. But this maker has as yet only been known as a manufacturer of Samian, so that this fragment possesses peculiar interest, as well as the previously mentioned pattern of a Samian bowl with an inscription. Another fragment is also a portion of a *mortarium*. One piece of white pottery is indented on the side, as if it had been with a finger-nail. Part of a rim, of a buffish tint, bears a defaced inscription; but the characters would appear to differ from the common Roman type. The forms of dark blue pottery

are various, and one piece has belonged to a vessel of an elegant form with bars put across a hollow in slip, and forming squares round the upper portion of the vessel. The fragment of black Upchurch pottery is, perhaps, part of a jar or an urn. A handle and several fragments of light red pottery are massive, and most likely are parts of a large *amphora*. The pottery I have clearly shows that the Roman makers glazed no small portion of their productions.

Besides the pottery, which I regret to say is so fragmentary, I have one piece of a glass bowl from Roman Rocester, an elliptical quern or muller, and part of another quern, a bronze signet ring and an iron article or two, as well as a small one in stone resembling a large finger-biscuit.

The black soil showing the period of Roman occupation at Rocester is from two and a half to three feet in depth. In it have been discovered human remains, some of which have been in drains; others have been crouched together, and in one place the remains of a female and child were contiguous. At the bottom of the black soil are small pieces of sandstone, and the old gravelled surface on which they lie appears to have been almost calcined. From these circumstances, and from the fact that nothing but the actual wreck of human workmanship is met with—no coins, no complete Roman pitchers, no personal ornaments of much value, I have arrived at the conclusion that after Roman military protection was withdrawn for the defence of Rome itself, the occupants of the Roman town of Rocester were overwhelmed by slaughter and pillage and the place burnt to the ground.

When reference was being made to Madeley Holme, it might have been stated that it was doubtless a Saxon town after its desertion by the Romans, for a meadow adjoining the Madeley Holme Farmhouse is yet called "The Town's End."

The only actual Saxon remains in the neighbourhood of Uttoxeter (indeed they are in the parish), is a Saxon grave south of Uttoxeter, and a large Saxon cemetery at Low Fields, north of the town. That they are the burying places of Saxon Christians is attested by the form of the cross in earth which extends over each.

I have promised to dwell, but it must be briefly (and I much fear also that I shall be attempting what some gen-

tleman besides myself may be purposing to do, and with much more knowledge and ability than I can possibly claim), upon the old church and its monuments and a specimen or two of antique architecture in Uttoxeter. The old church, of which the fine tower has been spared, was highly interesting, and instead of being destroyed ought to have been restored. The church was of the decorated period of architecture, and a fine decorated window remains in the tower over the west entrance, and the head of a magnificent arch is perceptible in the belfrey chamber, and would be formerly open to the old church. The church had a north and south side aisle. The windows in the north side aisle, of which there were three, were decorated and had three lights each. Above them were four square-headed windows; but these, as well as the roof, which was high pitched and leaned against the side of the nave, must have been modern additions. The south side aisle appears to have had three lancet windows of two lights each, and west of the south entrance were gothic windows enclosed in square frames. There were four decorated windows at each side the nave for clerestory windows, which one sketch I have seen represents with depressed arches, whilst another gives them high pointed. But probably the form of the arch of all these may be well represented by the remaining west window in the tower, though the tracery might be different. The east end of the nave had a rose window, but no idea can be given of the tracery it contained. The south side of the chancel had a window of three lights, with pointed arches within a square frame. The window at the east end of the chancel appears to have been perpendicular. The tracery, mouldings, and other details, it is impossible to describe, as no engraving or good drawing of the church that I know of exists.

The earliest monument preserved in Uttoxeter Church is a skeleton effigy of the fifteenth century, lying in the recess of the west window.

Two altar-tombs of the succeeding century are also remaining, and are enclosed within iron railings in the north side of the tower. They are of the middle of the seventeenth century. One is to Thomas Kinnersley de Coxley, with his figure and arms incised on the top. Centrally, on the side, is a representation of the crucifixion of our Lord,

and also one of a child of the deceased, with figures of two nuns represented in the reticulated headdress of the period. They are placed underneath canopies supported by columns. The monument is much mutilated on the top, and the inscription is nearly all illegible. The other altar-tomb is to the wife of Thomas Kynnersley. She is represented in effigy in the habit of a *religieuse*. The side shows open parapet work of the period, with various armorial bearings. The foot end of the monument has been sawn off, to fit it into its present position. The corner of the other end has a twisted shaft.

An earlier incised figure on a slab remains in Doveridge Church near to, and has hitherto escaped notice. It represents a priest of the thirteenth century. The outline of the features of an angel supporting the pillar underneath the head is exquisite for grace and angelic beauty.

There is a curious memorial in Uttoxeter Church to John Archbald, gentleman, who died in 1629, at the age of 103. The figures painted upon it represent death in the form of two skeletons with picks and spades. There is also on it, besides, a representation of the deceased's tomb with mourners at each end. There are also black letter memorials in Latin to William Millward, of Eaton, son of the judge of Chester, and one to the Rev. Thomas Lightfoot, who was minister of Uttoxeter thirty-six years, he dying in 1653, at the age of 81. He was father of the celebrated Hebraist, Dr. John Lightfoot, and of the physician, Dr. Peter Lightfoot.

Some highly interesting portions of half-timbered domestic architecture have had their last observable features finally obliterated only of late. These were houses in the Sheep Market, of the decorated period, in half timber, and formed in olden times the noted Old Crown Inn. They were built in corbel on brackets, and there was at the angle a clustered oak pillar with Gothic carving on the brackets springing from it. The central part of the building had a large hall, with open-timbered roof, supported by Gothic arches having bosses at the points. This hall had been made a wreck of generations ago; but one arch remained built up in a wall; and when alterations were again made in 1870, it was brought to light only to be built over again. The top of another arch of larger proportions was found to

have been converted into a beam. I observed on the side walls that there had been doors, windows and stairs. The arch built up is about twenty-two feet in height. I made a rough sketch of it, and took an impression with difficulty in clay of the boss, from which I have obtained castings in plaster in addition to the sketch. This boss appears to represent the oak ornament. The fine boss of the larger arch—and perhaps it would be the central one—is the vine ornament with grapes and is in my possession. It is highly probable the erection of this interesting building was due to one of the lords of Tutbury lordship.

Uttoxeter Post-office is of an almost coeval date, but other old half-timbered buildings of a later period being, of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The Cross Keys Inn, which is in brick, was erected in 1697, by Edward Hadley, builder, the date and name being carved on the stone stringcourse, but there is nothing further peculiar about the house. The Manor house, which is nearly opposite to the White Hart Hotel, and by the side of which, except that a garden intervened, was no doubt in existence at the close of the sixteenth century.

Having now gone over all the subjects I had proposed, and, on the whole, given the result of many years' labour devoted to the discovery and their rescue from oblivion of the archæological remains of the parish and neighbourhood, it only remains for me to express the hope that this humble contribution to archæological inquiry may prove of some interest; and aid in the elucidation of the early history and antiquities of this county and the adjoining counties, on which some of the discoveries have a direct bearing.

ON SUN-DIALS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

SHAKSPERE makes Macbeth declare—

“ Come what come may,
Time and the hour run through the roughest day.”

And Man in the very infancy of his existence must have felt desirous to measure Time as it ran, and mark the Hour as it came, and the Sun must have been his first guide to these ends. Something has already been said respecting the high antiquity of sun-dials in my paper on “Pocket *Solarias*”;¹ and although it is not intended to pursue the question to any great length in this communication, I cannot refrain from reverting to it briefly.

The sun-dial, in its simplest and most primitive form, was in all probability a staff set upright in the earth, the varying shadow of which upon the surrounding surface of the ground affording a rough index to the hour of the day, in the manner of the “pointer” at Stonehenge, which, for aught we know, may have been erected by the Britons as a *Haul-oriawr*.²

We read in the second book of Kings (xx, 11) that—“Isaiah the prophet cried unto the Lord, and he brought the shadow ten degrees backward, by which it had gone down in the dial of Ahaz,” who reigned in Judah from *circa* 740 to 726, B.C. It has been thought that this dial was a pillar or column erected near the steps of the royal palace, and that the period of the day was shown by its shadow falling on them, and it is important to note that the Hebrew word *Magalorh* implies both a step and a degree.

Herodotus (ii, 109), Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* ii, 72, 76, vii, 60), and Vitruvius (ix, 8), are our chief informants respecting the sundials of the ancients. From such sources as these we gather that various formed *Solaria* were in use during the classic ages, each being distinguished by an appropriate

¹ See *Journal*, xix, p. 71.

² Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi, p. 10) states that Facundus Novus, the mathematician, so contrived things that the Egyptian obelisk erected in the Campus Martius in Rome showed the hour of the day by the shadow which fell on the stone pavement.

name. Thus we read of the *Arachne*, the *Conus*, the *Discus*, the *Hemicyclium*, the *Hemisphaerium* or *Scaphium*, the *Lacunar*, the *Pelecinon*, the *Pharetra*, the *Plinthium*, and the *Sciothericon*, the latter invented, according to Pliny (ii, 76), by Anaximenes the Milesian, who flourished *circa* 570 B.C.

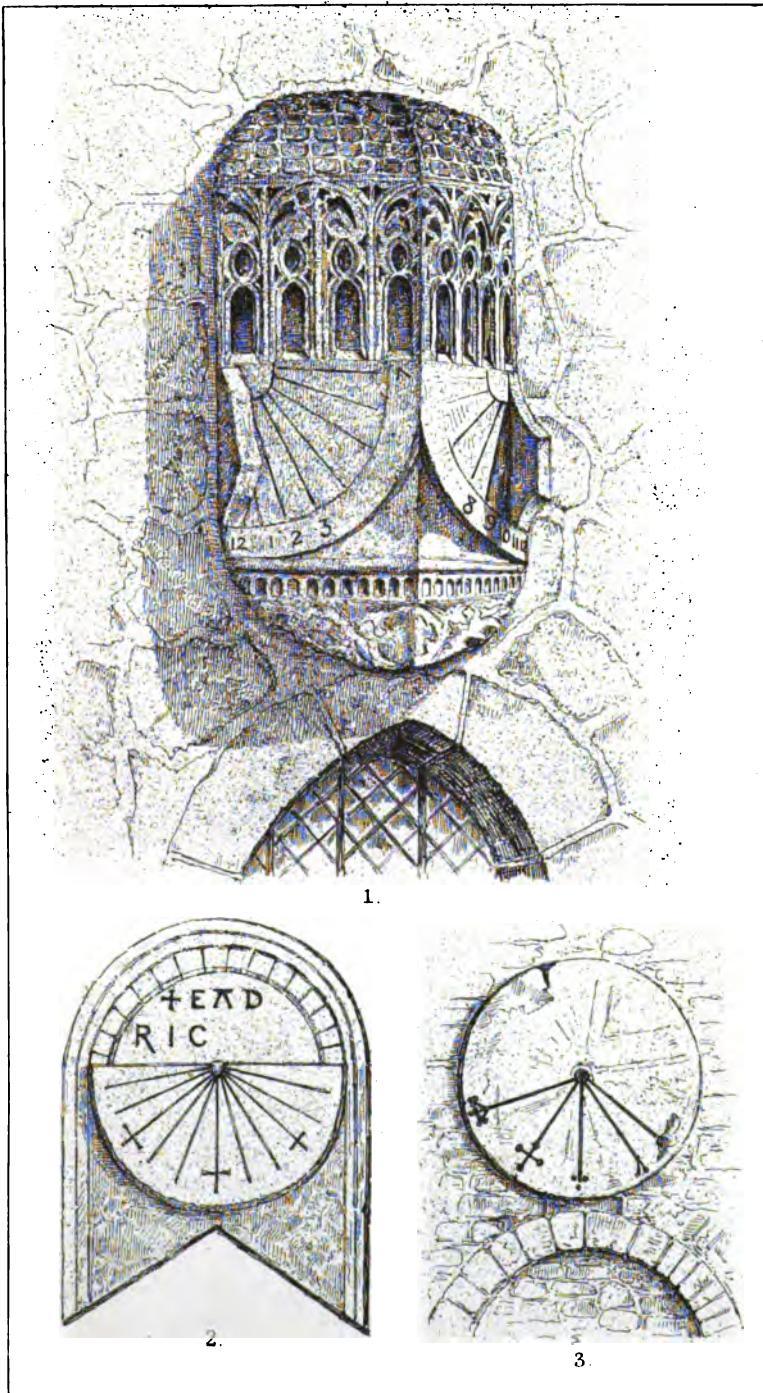
Many examples of ancient sundials have been discovered in Greece and Italy, of which a few have been brought to England. Perhaps one of the finest specimens in this country is the marble one at Ince Blundell, in Lancashire, on which is inscribed the title *Hemicyclium*, and has a bust of Berosus sculptured on the base, thus proving the dial to be of the kind said to have been invented by that philosopher, and described by Vitruvius (ix, 8) under the name graved on it. What seems to be another example of the *Hemicyclium* may be seen in the Townley Gallery of the British Museum. It rests on the heads of two lions, each of which is supported on a single foot. It is rather over twenty inches in height.

In the Elgin collection in the British Museum is another *Solarium*, or rather set of four *Solaria*, of very singular construction, which was obtained at Athens. It is flat at back and projects in two angles in front, so that four flat surfaces are produced, on which the hour-lines are graved. A most interesting feature connected with this time-measurer is the inscription chiselled on the western face, which records that "Phœdrus, son of Zoilus, a Pæanian, made this." But though this legend be in Greek letters the dial is considered to belong to the Roman era, and wrought during the first or second century of Christianity.

Boisard (pars iv, plate 140), has engraved a set of *Solaria* of similar construction to those in the Elgin collection, but which surmounts a calendar, giving the names of the months, the number of days, &c.

The use of wedge-shaped *Solaria* was not confined entirely to the classic ages, for M. Charles Roessler has called our attention to a pair of such dials, wrought *circa* 1500, and affixed above the window of the church of Rouelles, near Havre. One of these curious dials is designed to tell the ante-meridian, the other the post-meridian hours, which are marked in Arabic numerals.

In Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates*, it is stated, on the



authority of the Abbé Lenglet that "Sundials were first set up in churches A.D. 613." We are not however told how this date has been fixed so exactly, nor where, nor by whom, the *Solaria* were "set up."

One perhaps of the earliest church sundials remaining in England is placed over the south door of Kirkdale Church, Rydale, North Riding of York. It is a semicircle, with the meridian and two other hour-lines terminating in crosses, and a third in a star. (Pl. 11, fig. 1.) On the margin is cut a Saxon inscription setting forth that "This is the day's sun-marker at every hour, and Hayward made me and Brand the priest." From the wording of legends on other parts of the stone on which this dial is chiselled, we learn that it must be of the time of Edward the Confessor, and wrought between the years 1055-64.

A sundial, little if at all inferior in age to the foregoing, exists on a porch at the south side of the old Saxon church at Bishopstone, Sussex, and is engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1840, p. 496. On the upper half of the disc is a cross followed by the word EADRIC, which may be the name of the maker of the instrument. Three of the hour-lines on the lower half of the face end in crosses. (Pl. 11, fig. 2.)

The sundial on the south face of the nave near the porch of Bricet Church, Suffolk (of which Mr. Watling has favoured me with a sketch), though not of equal antiquity with those at Kirkdale and Bishopstone, may still be regarded as a work of the eleventh century. The church was founded *circa* 1096, and it is a fair presumption that the dial is coeval with the erection of the sacred edifice. This mural *Solarium* consists of a stone disc, fifteen inches diameter, one of the hour-lines terminating in a cross-botonnee, another having a tripartite end, the remaining ones being too much injured to determine their form with certainty. (Pl. 11, fig. 3.)

Sundials seem to have lingered about ecclesiastical buildings long after clocks came into general use. Two London examples may be cited in support of this assertion. Between the windows of the south wall of the church of St. Katherine Cree, Leadenhall Street, is incised a square sundial with a very slender style or gnomon, and along the lower edge of the field the quaint announcement—*Non Sine Lumine.* As this church was consecrated on January 16, 1630-1, the

dial may, without doubt, be assigned to the reign of Charles I. The other dial referred to may be seen above a side door of Albion Chapel, Moorfields, which is of course of late date, but which is still worthy of notice on account of the figure of old Father Time sculptured on a concave disc in the centre of its circular field.

Vertical sundials have not always been erected against walls, for there are a few instances in which they were painted on window-panes so that they could be viewed as transparencies. One of these curious *solaria* remains in a window of Lambeth Palace ; and in the *Universal Museum or Gentleman's and Ladies' Polite Magazine* for 1762 (i, 259), is an interesting notice of the east window of Northill Church, Bedfordshire, painted by Isaac Oliver in 1664, and in which it is stated that "the said Oliver affixed two dials in the windows of the east parlour, and chamber over it, in the parsonage, on which are painted two cherries, and a fly on each. That in the chamber still remains ; and the incumbent tells me, a gentleman who lay at his house one night could not satisfy himself in the morning without opening the window to try whether it was real or not by endeavouring to brush the fly off. The present incumbent, being obliged to alter the parlour window, the dial was taken out, but is now in his possession, and preserved as a curiosity. The colouring of the wings and body of the flies seems to have been laid on to the different sides of the glass, which occasions a separation, or rise, of the wings from the body, and gives it more the appearance of nature." The writer adds that "there was a window done in the same manner, the same year, by the aforesaid Oliver, and put up in the church of Allhallows Staining, Mark Lane, but there is scarcely any part of the painted glass remaining."

The *plinthium* or pillar sundial permitted a far greater display of fancy in construction and ornamentation than mural *solaria* could well afford, which will be manifest by reference to a few examples erected during the last three centuries.

"Queen Mary's Dial", in the garden of Holyrood Palace, is a work of singular beauty. It looks like a great multi-angular crystal on the faces of which are twenty-two dials, between which are the arms of Scotland with M. R. (the

initials of Maria Regina), St. Andrew, St. George, fleurs-de-lys, and other devices. This group of *solaria* caps an enriched pedestal elevated on a hexagonal base of three or four steps, the entire height of the structure being about ten feet. A woodcut of this curious time-indicator is given in the *Mirror*, xxi, p. 152.

The Priory Garden behind Whitehall, Westminster, was, in days gone by, famous for its sundials. Charles I, whilst Prince of Wales, caused a dial to be erected here ; and by command of his father, King James I, there was published *The Description and Use of his Majesty's Dial in Whitehall Garden*, by Edmund Gunter, London, 1624, 4to. It seems to have been allowed to fall into decay during the reign of Charles II ; and Andrew Marvell, the Radical rhymster of the seventeenth century, not only makes mention of the machine, but has also a fling at the "Merry Monarch" and his surroundings :

"This place for a dial was too insecure,
Since a guard and a garden could not it defend ;
For so near to the court they will never endure,
Any witness to show how their time they mispend."

In spite of Marvel's snarling philippic, the court did "endure" another dial, or rather cluster of dials of glass, constructed in 1669 by Francis Hall, *alias* Line, a Jesuit and professor of mathematics at Liege in Germany. *An Explication of the Diall set up in the King's Garden at London, anno 1669, in which very many Sorts of Dialls are contained*, etc., was printed at Liege by Guillaume Henry Steel in 1673, 4to. This *Explication* was reprinted in London in 1685, and appended to Holuell's *Clavis Horologiarum, or Key to the whole Art of Arithmetical Dialling*, small 4to, 1712. From the illustrations which accompany the description of this most novel and intricate machine, we find that it consisted of a baluster-shaped plinth supporting several tables rising pyramidically, and from the edge of which sprang brackets or branches of gilded iron supporting globular dials of glass. It would occupy too much time and space to enter into any minute details regarding this elegant contrivance ; but those who feel an interest in it will find a woodcut and account of the dial in the *Mirror* (xiv, p. 345). This dial required protection in winter ; but the King's orders for its covering being neglected, it was ere long ruined

by rain and snow, and its remains are spoken of by Walpole in his *Anecdotes of Painters*, ii, p. 54.

Joseph Moxon, in his *Tutor to Astronomie and Geographie, or An easie Way to know the Use of both the Globes*, printed and sold by him "at his shop on Cornhill, at the sign of Atlas, 1659", gives directions for the construction of various species of sun-dials, one being "a solid ball or globe that will show the hour of the day without a gnomon." This *solarium* was to be a sphere marked round the equator with two series of numerals, from one to twelve, and erected, rectified for the required latitude, with one of the twelves facing the north, the other the south. The number occurring under the place where the shadowed and illuminated points meet when the sun shines on the sphere, indicates the hour of the day.

During the mayoralty of Sir John Dethick, Knt. (1655), there was set up at Leadenhall Corner a very handsome columnar fountain with four effigies of females round the base, and supported on a plinth, and surmounted by one of these spherical dials made by John Leak. A representation of this elegant structure illustrates Joseph Moxon's book.

The *hemisphærium* formerly at Ravenna was upheld on the head of a nude statue of Atlas resting on one knee, and this idea, with certain modifications, has long existed. Till within these few years there was to be seen in the grounds of Gloucester House, Walworth, a boldly sculptured figure of Atlas in the same posture as the one just spoken of at Ravenna, and supporting a spherical dial. This really noble piece of work is now destroyed.

The sun-dial in the garden of Clement's Inn, Strand, is supported by a kneeling effigy brought from Italy, and presented by Holles, Earl of Clare. Ireland (p. 74) says that "some ingenious persons having determined on making it a blackamoor, have in consequence painted the figure of that colour"; and some wag, availing himself of this transformation, stuck on it the following *jeu d'esprit*:

"In vain, poor sable son of woe,
Thou seek'st the tender tear;
From thee in vain with pangs they flow,
For mercy dwells not here.
From Cannibals thou fled'st in vain;
Lawyers less quarter give:
The first won't eat you till you're slain,
The last will do 't alive."

The old pillar-dial in Kensington Gardens, near the Palace, was once of great renown ; but of all London *solaria* none are more frequently spoken of than the group which gave name to the locality known as "Seven Dials", in the refined regions of St. Giles in the Fields. There, in days of yore, stood a column, on the apex of which were seven dials, for the benefit of the inhabitants of the seven streets which surrounded it. Evelyn, in his *Diary* (sub 5 Oct., 1694), makes this entry, so pertinent to our subject : "I went to see the building beginning neere St. Giles', where seven streets make a star from a Doric pillar placed in the middle of a circular area, said to be built by Mr. Neale, introducer of the late lotteries, in imitation of those at Venice." These dials are also mentioned by Gay in his *Trivia* (ii, 73, 76) :

"Where fam'd St. Giles' ancient limits spread,
An inrail'd column rears its lofty head ;
Here to sev'n streets, seven dials count the day,
And from each other catch the circling ray."

There was a vulgar notion that a vast hoard of money lay hid beneath the base of the dial's column, which in July, 1773, induced some persons to remove it in order to discover the buried treasure ; but the treasure was nowhere to be found. The column was never re-erected on its old site, but was carried out of town to adorn the lawn of a gentleman's seat.

When Holborn was a suburban district there were in it other gardens besides those of the Bishop of Ely and good old Gerarde the herbalist ; and in all probability one at least was provided with a horizontal sundial, and which said dial got upset and buried, and was again exhumed in Holborn Valley in the month of February, 1872, and is now before you, having been kindly presented to me by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew. It consists of a plate of copper, four inches and three-tenths square, graved with the hours in Roman numerals in a circle, and having a copper style or gnomon of rather tasteful design. It is a fair example of the ordinary sundial of the seventeenth century.

Another and larger dial, of the same century, is exhibited by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew. It is graved on a stout plate of brass six inches square, and truncated at the corners. The hours are marked in Roman numbers, and between the figures *vii* and *iiii* is inscribed the abbreviated name of the

maker, "Res : Pat : Fecit"; and below this, on the sub-style, the letters ^{P.}T.H. Above the hour-circle is the date 1679, and below, "Apr. y^o 1^t." Nothing of the history of this interesting specimen is known beyond the bare fact that it was brought, many years since, from Sussex to Newdigate in Surrey, where the present owner received it from its old possessor.

There is a special feature about some of the olden sun-dials which is worthy of a passing comment, viz., the quaint mottoes with which they are occasionally adorned, and one of which we have already cited.

A correspondent called attention in the *Gent. Mag.* (Feb., 1792, p. 121) to a Greek inscription of twelve words for a sun-dial, he had met with in the *Anthologia*, and which he thus Anglicised : "Behold, epitomis'd in this small space, the swift, revolving earth's diurnal wheel."

Some of the old mottoes were singularly apposite to their positions, as, for instance, the one accompanying the sun-dial on the arch which spanned London Bridge when houses stood thereon, and which set forth the truth that "Time and tide stay for no man"; and equally fitting for its location was that grim warning, "*Post voluptatem misericordia*" so conspicuous on the sun-dial of the Lock Hospital at Kingsland. "*Tempus fugit*" has been scribed on more than one dial, as has likewise that excellent admonition, "Begone about your business", which adorned the sun-dial opposite the north end of Paper Buildings in the Temple, and the same courteous hint may be seen on the clock at Market Harborough in Leicestershire.

In Pump Court is a curious old dial accompanied by the words, "Shadows we are, and like shadows depart."

In *Notes and Queries* (Jan. 6th, 1866, p. 11) is given the following poetical motto occurring on the dial in Shenstone churchyard near Lichfield :

"If o'er the dial glides a shade, redeem
The time, for, lo ! it passes like a dream ;
But if 'tis all a blank, then mark the loss
Of hours unblest by shadows from the cross."

It is added, the dial is in the form of a cross, the hours being indicated by shadows cast by the upper part upon the arms of the cross. Those who are curious in such matters will find an extensive collection of dial-mottoes in Leadbetter's *Meckanick Dialling*, second edition, London, 1769."

The late Canon Bowles composed a pathetic ode to a "Sundial in a Churchyard"; but not only the dial, but the writers on dialling have kindled a poetical furor in the minds of some of their admirers, who have indited to them highly complimentary verses laudatory of their skill and works. The following, by "Wm. Brittain, Philomath", addressed to John Good, and printed in his *Art of Shadows, or Universal Dialling* (third edition, London, 1731), will serve as a sample of such effusions, and form a not inappropriate finale to our subject :

" Does time (*sub Deo nolens, volens*), rule
 The universe with uncontrolled sway ?
 Do both nature and art, wise man and fool,
 His law of limit all alike obey ?
 Do all visible things on time depend,
 In time begin, perfect, and make their end ?

" Does every orb of each denomination,
 Whether the fixed orbs or wanderers,
 Keep time's unbroken law of limitation
 By minutes, hours, days, weeks, months, and years ?
 Does time's progress admit of no cessation
 Till eternity stop his numeration ?

" Is time that's past beyond retrieval lost,
 Impossible to be restor'd again ?
 Does time that's present fly more swift than post,
 And ne'er one moment in one stay remain ?
 Can nothing stop time's feet, none hold his wings,—
 Empires nor emp'rors, kingdoms nor their kings ?

" Can neither strength, power, nor policy ?
 Can neither wisdom, learning, wit nor art,
 Riches, grandeur, honour, nor majesty,
 Stop time's fleet pace, or his progress revert :
 Nor favour, nor interest, nor bribery
 Stay time's swift passage to eternity ?

" Does time more swift than thought or fancy run ;
 Yet so, that he doth a fit season lend
 To ev'ry purpose underneath the sun
 For to begin, perfect, and make its end ?
 Does time rule all things, yet all things obey
 That will accept his service, while they may ?

" If, then, time be the best thing we enjoy
 Of all sublunar blessings we receive,
 And greatest wisdom be, time well t' employ,
 Which being lost, we never can retrieve :
 Sure from these premises I may infer,
 To watch time's passage should be our chief care.

“If so, then sure I may (without denial)
 Affirm that the most useful art, which by
 The art of shadows, or a true made dial,
 From the sun’s bright reflection, to each eye,
 Doth shew us how (by easy definition)
 This swift accomptant sums up his addition.

“Then sure above all that e’er writ the art,
 From plainness, fulness, shortness, and perfection,
 Good doth this universal good impart
 To all capacities by his direction :
 For both by instruments and calculation,
 Good above all makes good his application.”

THE ROMAN ROADS OF STAFFORDSHIRE.

BY W. MOLYNEUX, ESQ., F.G.S., F.R.HIST.S.

Most writers upon this subject are agreed that Staffordshire was intersected by at least three separate and distinct military roads, or streets, during the occupation of Britain by the Romans. These streets are variously described as the *Watling*, the *Ickenild*, and the *Rykenild*, or, as it is at times called, *Via Devana*. The *Watling* enters the county west from Shropshire at a point called Stoneyford, and for a short distance forms the boundary line of the two counties. It then passes on through Weston-under-Lizard, leaving Stretton about half a mile on the north, past the “Spread Eagle” to the Four Oaks, where it crosses the Penkridge and Wolverhampton Roads, on to the Four Crosses, and enters Cannock Chace by Churchbridge, leaving Cannock and Norton to the north ; thence to the “Rising Sun”, where it diverges due east and runs straight to Marckley Corner and Wall, where again it diverges to the south east by Streetway House, Hints, and Bonehill to Fazeley. It there enters Warwickshire over the River Tame, thus traversing a distance of twenty-nine miles across the county. The *Ickenild* Street, on the other hand, enters Staffordshire due south from Warwickshire, a little west of Aston Park, near Birmingham. It thence passes a little to the east of Perry, by Gorsey Bank, the Halfway House, Oscott College, the Romans’ Field and Kings’ Standing—thence to Sutton Park across the Old Chester Road, where, for a distance of over a mile and a half, it occupies the boundary line of the

counties of Stafford and Warwick. It here offers probably one of the best and most perfect examples of a Roman street, in its original condition, to be found in this country. It is about sixty feet wide, and formed of the drift gravel which there covers the hills and valleys of the park, having a ditch thrown out on each side ; and what is, I think, a fact of some importance, having on the north side a foot or causeway about six feet wide running inside the ditch, and evidently intended for the use and convenience of foot passengers. Here also during a walk undertaken with Colonel Bagnall and Captain Webster, of Lichfield (whom I am glad of this opportunity of thanking for the good and valuable service he has rendered in the excavation at Wall), in the month of December of last year for the express purpose of tracing out the line of the Ickenild Street from near Lichfield to Sutton Park, we noticed on the east side, about midway up the first hill, a curious hollow, about twelve feet square, which had been excavated out of the road itself. What it is intended for I cannot undertake to say, but it appeared adapted for, and not unlikely was used as, a small watering-place for horses on the march. Sutton Park is still in a state of nature, and it is of course to this circumstance that the preservation of the Ickenild Street there is due. The road passes onwards over the crests of the two hills of the park, from either of which it forms a remarkable and interesting object. It then enters the grounds of Little Aston Hall, across which it is used for a considerable distance as a private drive ; thence emerges into the open near Aston Forge, and runs across Shenston Moss, leaving Shenston on the east, and intersects the Watling at a point which in all probability lay outside the walls of *Etocetum*. It here diverges to the north east, and runs straight on past Lichfield and Streethay, Alrewas, Branston, Burton-on-Trent, over Stretton Moors, and enters Derbyshire over the Dove at Monks' Bridge. The Ickenild in Staffordshire is twenty-seven miles in length, and connected *Etocetum* with *Derventio* (Little Chester), near Derby.

With respect to the Rykeneld Street, the evidence as to its actual direction and extent is rather conflicting, and to a certain degree puzzling. I think Dr. Mason, in Shaw's *History of Staffordshire*, first alludes to a Roman road which he says he traced from *Retae* (Leicester) across the

Trent at Burton-on-Trent, on to Needwood Forest by Hanbury and Uttoxeter to Chesterton, near Newcastle ; and subsequently Ward, in his *History of Stoke-on-Trent*, lays down what he considers the line of the road from Burton to Chester. He is guided in this arrangement by the occurrence of the words "Rykeneld Street" in the foundation charter of the Abbey of Hulton, dated 1223, which are applied to a road constituting a boundary of certain lands thereby conveyed to the abbey. He takes it across Needwood Forest to Uttoxeter, and on to Longton and Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyme, and thence to Chester (*Deva*). I think there is no question whatever that a road of this description ran across Needwood Forest, and so on to Chester. Richard of Cirencester places the station of *Ad Trivonam* on the Ickenild ; and Branston, near Burton-on-Trent, answers to the description so far as regards being equidistant between *Etocetum* and *Derventio*. The name also signifies a station on the Trent.

Traces of a Roman road pointing in the direction of Branston were some few years ago detected on the Derbyshire side of the Trent ; and in all probability the road crossed the Trent at this point,—where was formerly a ford called in a document of the time of Edward III "Robin Hood's Ford",—inasmuch as I have traced a road of Roman make running straight in this direction from Branston over the Tatenhill Hills, and on to Callingwood and Knightley Park, where Roman coins and other antiquities have at different times been found. But the fact of the occurrence of a Roman road here does not determine it as the line of the Rykeneld, because there is Mason's account of the road which he traced from Leicester, and which would cross the Trent at about the line of Burton Old Bridge, down Horninglow Street, and up Dallow's Lane, or Portway, on to Needwood, which would answer better to the description and direction of the Rykeneld than the road at Branston.

Roman pottery has also been found by the side of an old road leading past the Hanchurch Wood from Burton ; and I have obtained Roman pottery, keys, and other relics of that date, from some sand workings near the line of an old ferry across the Trent, situate midway between Burton and Branston.

Stukeley places *Ad Trivonam* at Burton-on-Trent ; but

I do not think this could well have been, as the Ickenild runs about half a mile west of the town, and to connect it with the "*Hickenels Street*" Abbot Packington in 1275 built Catt Street across what was then an old river-course, and by which the town was then isolated. It will probably be held that under circumstances of this description it is better to allow the question of identification to remain an open one, even at the sacrifice of one's own individual opinion and inclination, rather than advance a theory which any moment may permanently dispose of and condemn.

Such are the two unquestionably Roman, and such the assumed third Roman road of this county. Upon the Watling Street stood the rather important station of *Pennocrucium*; and *Etocetum* may be also accepted as standing on the same street. On the Ickenild, therefore, with the exception of *Ad Trivonam*,¹ there is no place of note or strength recorded. On the Rykeneld Ward places *Mediolanum*, and identifies it in the raised ground, the terraces, and the name of Chesterton. Plot speaks of having found traces of Roman roads at Woodton and Edingale; and I rather think, speaking from memory, that he is disposed to place *Mediolanum* at Trentham. Other writers mention remains of Roman roads at Over Areley, also near Cheadle, running in the direction of Rocester, where Roman antiquities have been found; and Mr. Mason, in *Shaw*, says that he noticed traces of a Roman way leading from Wroxeter towards Wolverhampton.

¹ It is well known that there is a difference of opinion in respect to the site of *Pennocrucium*. Plot places it at Stretton, while I think Camden and others fix it at Penkridge. It would, I know, be presumptuous in me to question seriously the opinion advanced by these able investigators; but I would draw your attention to the fact that while the other Roman stations we have identified are placed directly on and intersected by the Watling and Ickenild streets, neither Stretton nor Penkridge is so placed. Stretton is about half a mile distant, and in this respect it tallies with the position of Stretton near Burton, while Penkridge is a little over two miles therefrom. Now if we follow the line of the Watling Street, we shall find that at exactly twelve miles distance, west from *Etocetum*, at a place called "The Spread Eagle", where the Watling Street intersects the road from Penkridge to Wolverhampton, there is a divergence of the road. At *Etocetum* there is a divergence of both the Ickenild and Watling streets, but there the town so named is placed at Muckley Corner, only four miles distant. Next we certainly have another alteration in the direction of the road; but this I think, although there may have been, and most likely was, a small camp here, due to the junction of what I believe to have been a Roman road with the Watling, which ran past Aldridge, and so into the Ickeneld a little south of Sutton Park. If, therefore, we have evidence of the points of these divergences being occupied by Roman stations elsewhere, why, may I ask, should it not be the case at "The Spread Eagle", and *Pennocrucium* there be placed instead of Penkridge or Stretton?

We now come to the more practical points of the subject. In the construction of their roads or streets the Romans, as is well known, followed but one and that the soundest principle in the art. When it became necessary to establish communication between two places they took the nearest route, that is a direct line from point to point. Where the ground was level, they raised the road some three or four feet above that level, well rounding it in the centre, and cast out ditches on each side to keep it thoroughly drained and dry. A raised causeway carried them across low-lying ground, bridges across rivers, and paved stones across fords. They took the hills as they found them, and intervening valleys as they came; but they always went straight onwards, turning neither to the right to avoid a hill, nor to the left to shun a wood; and even in this, as in all other of their undertakings, they showed the open boldness of their natural character and the simple determination of their race. These roads varied only in the description of the material of which they were made. The main or military roads were from forty to sixty feet wide, and where deposits of gravel occupied the face of the country they were freely used, and generally in their natural or unbroken condition. At times where gravel appears to have been scarce we find foundations of broken boulders or rocks, the latter frequently brought a long way from the parent beds, and in crossing boggy ground oak piles or trunks of trees were used in securing a good foundation. Upon these roads were established generally at a day's march, or about twelve miles apart, camps or stations for the convenience and repose of soldiers on the march. At certain intervals, however, were founded large fortified garrisons, or towns, as at *Etocetum* and *Uriconium*, and these formed as it were the headquarters of one or more of the legions of which the Roman army was composed. Towns of this description would of course not only occupy extensive areas, but they would contain, in addition to the castle and other fortified works, a number of large public buildings connected with the civil and religious institutions of the country. Here also, as a matter of course, would be collected a multitudinous and diversified population, and no doubt within a short distance the more wealthy or important of the Roman inhabitants would erect country residences or villas, and

thereby add to the general importance and probably prosperity of the place. These conditions however refer only to the main thoroughfares and stations of Romanised Britain, and we must, I think, go backwards in time for the date of the origin of most of these great roads, if not of many of the towns which stood upon them. The Britons had unquestionably arrived at a fair if not high degree of civilisation before the advent of the Romans; and as they were possessed of war chariots and other vehicles, besides a famous breed of horses with which the inland tribes maintained communication with the coast, it is only reasonable to infer that they had large and populous if not well fortified towns, and also roads of some description between them. No doubt, where the site of these towns and roads fell in with the plans or requirements of their Roman conquerors they were so far adopted, and in fact to all intents and purposes became Romanised, and thus blotted, so to speak, from the history of the industrial achievements of the British tribes. Whatever may have been the condition or extent of these British roads, it will, I think, be admitted that they constitute the foundation of our English road system, which under the Romans was carried to the highest point of perfection and usefulness.

With regard to the road system of the Romans generally, there is no question, as I have already laid down in the *History of Burton on Trent*, that, at the time of their occupation of the country, Britain was thickly populated, and that this population was contained in a large number of towns, villages, and other places of ordinary occupation. In the present day every village in Britain has its highway; and there can be no question that, in this respect at least, we are not so much in advance of the Romans as to be justified in assigning to them a different condition in respect to the means of communication between the various places in their occupation, whatever may have been the character of those places or their position in the country. Probably the prevalent opinion which restricts the Roman roads to the great trunk or military ways which connected their important stations is due to the fact of all others being ignored by official Roman writers; but between these great lines of roads lay extensive tracts of country which, from the frequent finding therein of Roman remains of

every description, were, without doubt, thickly peopled, although by a mixed population, occupied more in agricultural than mechanical pursuits, and dwelling in villages nestling round Roman villas or camps, and readily accessible by regularly constructed roads connected with those military thoroughfares which intersected Romanised Britain from one end to the other.

These are in general terms the known or recognised evidences of the thoroughfares maintained by the Romans in the country; and when we come to consider the area it contains, the large population, both civil and military, it unquestionably had, and the general wealth and importance of which it was possessed, the wonder is, not that we know so much, but that we know so little of the remains of a people whose object and glory it was to establish and perpetuate in the most substantial manner offered by nature all that belonged to their name, their institutions, and their nation.

ON THE ASTON MONUMENTS IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH, STAFFORD,

EMBRACING A VERY BRIEF SKETCH OF THE ASTON FAMILY.

BY ANDREAS EDWARD COCKAYNE, ESQ.

THE burial place of the Astons of Tixall, and of the Clifffords, their descendants and successors, was in the north transept of St. Mary's Church at Stafford, where amongst others, mural monuments and slabs, is an altar-tomb of alabaster, with recumbent effigies of a knight and his lady, the former representing Sir Edward Aston, of Tixall, and the latter his *second* wife Joan (or Joanna) Bowles, daughter of Sir Thomas Bollys, or Bowles, of Penhow Castle, in Monmouthshire, one of the barons of the exchequer. His first wife, Mary, was daughter of Sir Henry Vernon, Knight, by whom he had no issue. She died at Wanlip, in Leicestershire, and was buried there in 1525, a tomb being erected to her memory, with the arms of Aston impaling Vernon thereon.

Sir Edward and his second wife were both buried here;

Dame Joan Aston died (in 1562) before her husband, who erected this handsome tomb over her, he himself being laid by her side on his death, which occurred at Tixall in 1568. This accounts for the name of the lady alone appearing in the marginal inscription, which runs round the two sides and head of the tomb :

"Hic tumulo conditum Domina Joanna Aston uxor Edwardi Aston de Tixall generosi eaque ipsa filia Thome Bollys de Penho Equytis egregii Quæ quidem Domina Aston intra mortales esse desiit anno Domini 1562 adhuc vivente marito. Manerium de Tixall fuit edificatum non ... sine summa sollicitudine atque labore, impenso"

Thus far it at present only goes, but the following was formerly there, and ran on probably at the foot, which is now built into the wall—"Janæ Bowles, filiæ Thomæ Bowles Militis. So all my trust is in God."

This inscription, as well as the effigies and the other parts of the tomb, is very much defaced and mutilated. It may be hoped, however, that the iron railing which is now round it will protect it from further molestation.

The knight is represented in plate armour ; four tuilles, two in front and two at the sides, are attached to a narrow skirt of taces ; the tuilles, fluted and pointed, are of a very large size, showing little of the skirt of mail beneath ; the sword hangs at his left side, and the dagger, attached by cords, on his right ; the genouilleres have narrow plates above and below them. Round the neck is a double chain to which is appended a Greek cross : a tilting helmet remains, which formerly supported the head of this worthy person, but, alas ! he no longer rejoices in the possession of that member—he is headless.

The lady is more fortunate than her husband ; she retains her head, but, like him, has lost her hands. She wears the close-fitting cap, with the lappet turned backwards, which gives such a quaint appearance to the ladies so adorned,—a style of head-dress, by the way, as unlike the enormous designs of the preceding as to those of succeeding, and especially the present age. The gown is fastened by strings down to the waist, whence it is thrown open, showing the tighter-fitting kirtle, puffed and slashed at the arms, and the pomander-box suspended by a chain reaching almost to the feet. An heraldic mantle hangs from the shoulders, secured by cords passing saltire-wise in front, and reaching to the feet.

About the tomb are effigies of their children, and shields of arms, within square panels formed by twisted shafts. At the head of the tomb are two shields ; the one within a garter inscribed "I soughte to fle thought," is the coat of arms of the lady, namely those of Bowles, which are two wings conjoined in lure, their tips pointing downwards ; the other, also within an inscription "In God is all my trust," is the coat of arms of the knight, namely Aston with nine quarterings. 1, Aston : a fess and in chief three lozenges. 2, a chevron between three barnacles. 3, Walsh : two bars gemells and a bend. 4, Byron : three bendlets enhanced. 5, a lion or leopard rampant debruised by a fess. 6, Wight : a chevron between three boars' heads erased. 7, three fusils. 8, bendy of eight. 9, Frevile : a cross fleury.

Sir Edward Aston had issue by his wife Dame Joan three sons : Walter, Leonard, and Anthony ; and three daughters, of whom Catharine married Sir William Gressley, Knight, ancestor of the baronets of that name ; Mary married Sir Simon Harcourt, Knight, ancestor of the Earls of Harcourt ; and Frances married Robert Needham, of Shevington, in Shropshire, ancestor of the Earls of Kilmorey.

The armorial bearings of these sons and daughters are duly set forth on the tomb, each shield being supported by the figure of a man and woman.

On the north side of the tomb :—1, Gressley and impaling Aston of six quarterings. 2, Harcourt (two bars) impaling Aston of six quarterings. 3, the dexter side quite blank (probably originally charged with arms of Needham), impaling Aston of six quarterings.

On the south side :—1, Aston of nine quarterings, surmounted by the Aston crest, a bull's head, couped, impaling quarterly 1st and 4th, a chevron between three cinquefoils, 2nd and 3rd, on a fess between three.....five ermine spots. 2, Aston of six quarterings. 3, Aston of six quarterings.

The arms of Bowles as set forth on this monument are the same as used by the family of Seymour, of Penhow Castle aforesaid, their ancient seat, and probably conveyed to the Bowles family by marriage. These arms appear again impaled with those of Aston, and surrounded with the legend "M. Edwardi Aston et Jane Bowles," on an alabaster slab in the wall above the tomb ; and by its side is another slab, also of alabaster, inscribed thus :

" Hic Joanna jacet Domina Aston quæ pia quondam
 Edwardi Aston militis uxor erat.
 Filia sic et erat Thome Bollys. Domus unde
 Prodiit est Penho ; miles et ipso fuit.
 Illa quidem villa de Tyxall ædificandæ
 Auxiliatrices præbuit usque manus.
 Hæc matrona potens, proliis secunda, benigna,
 Prudens, atque sciens, ingeniosa fuit.
 Si mundus judex pereat livor, quoque dicam
 Nestereos annos vivere digna fuit.
 Deinde dies venit fatalis, quæ manet omnes
 Debita naturæ solvere quæque jubet ;
 Septembrisque die viceno, hei ! perit illa
 Atque secundo, ut aiunt, mori tua vis nimia est.
 Immo non perit sed Olympica regna petivit
 Quæ pater eternus præparat ipse suis.
 Non mors est quam nos fugimus mortemque vocamus,
 Sed vere vita est vivimus, atque Deo.
 Anno milleno quingenteno quoque bis sex ;
 Fac quinquennia des et duo deficiunt."¹

The family of Aston have been regarded with considerable interest by genealogists, and are mentioned with honour by Camden, Drayton, Fuller, and others. Two important branches of the family, said to derive from a common ancestor, were settled for many generations respectively in Staffordshire and Cheshire. The coat of arms of the former was *arg.* a fess and in chief three lozenges *sable*, and their crest a bull's head couped at the shoulders *sable*; that of the latter, party per chevron *arg.* and *sable*, their crest an ass's head couped, ppr. Of the Cheshire family was Sir Willoughby Aston, of Aston, Cheshire, created a baronet by Charles I on 25th July, 1628.

The Staffordshire Astons derive from Ralph Aston, of Haywood, near Stafford, *circa* 1250. Their residence, Haywood Hall, is said to have "stood a little behind where the Clifford Arms stands now. Some small remains of this ancient mansion are still visible, and form the lower part of the walls of an old malthouse near the canal, in the angle enclosed between the canal and the railway. In this malthouse, as representing the ancient house and cradle of the family, a great feast was given to nearly seven hundred persons in honour of the birth of Thomas Aston, son and heir of Sir Thomas Clifford, Baronet, 3rd June, 1806."²

¹ Part of this inscription being defaced, several of the readings are conjectural.

² *Trent Valley Parochial Magazine*, 1869, p. 23.
1873

Sixth in descent from Ralph Aston aforesaid was Sir Roger Aston, Sheriff for Staffordshire in the time of Henry VI. He allied himself in marriage with Joyce de Freville, a very ancient family, and of royal descent. Her grandfather, Sir Baldwin Freville, married one of the co-heirs of the Lords Botetourts, a title now vested in the Duke of Beaufort; Sir Baldwin Freville being a descendant of one of the co-heirs of John, Baron de Montford.

Sir John Aston, who obtained honourable distinction as a soldier in the French wars in which Henry VIII was engaged, and was present at the siege of Tournay with that monarch, by whom he was knighted, was great grandson of Sir Roger and Joyce Aston above named.

By the marriage of Sir John with the heir of Sir William Littleton, the Tixall estate came into the Aston family, with other considerable property, amongst which was Wanlip, in Leicestershire, her mother Ellen being the daughter and co-heir of Robert Walsh of that manor, by Margery, daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Byron. "Sir John Aston died in the year 1523, and was buried by the side of his lady in Lee Church, where a handsome marble monument, richly gilded, was erected to her memory."¹

The eldest son of the marriage of Sir John Aston with Joan Littleton was the knight whose tomb is here. "He was High Sheriff for Staffordshire three different times in the reign of Henry VIII and twice during the reign of Philip and Mary."²

Sir Edward Aston built the magnificent mansion at Tixall *circa* 1555, which has now perished and given place to a modern house. The old hall is engraved in Plott's *Staffordshire*. Sir Edward's eldest son, Walter, who was knighted by Queen Elizabeth for his bravery at the siege of Leith, built the *Gatehouse* in front of the mansion reared by his father, a structure which still exists and is considered a very fine specimen of the domestic architecture of the Elizabethan age. This Gatehouse is also engraved in Plott's *Staffordshire*.

His grandson Sir Walter was a very intimate friend of the poet Michael Drayton, who delighted, after the manner of those times, to eulogise his patron. Some of the poet's works are dedicated to his "worthy and honoured friend Maister

¹ Clifford's *Tixall*, p. 247.

² *Ibid.*, p. 246.

Walter Aston", and "to the worthy and my most esteemed patron Sir Walter Aston". In his preface to *Polyolbion* (1612) he observes: "Whatever is herein that tastes of a free spirit, I thankfully confess it to proceed from the continual bounty of my noble friend, Sir Walter Aston, which hath given me the best of those hours, whose leisure hath effected this which I now publish". And in 1619 this talented, quaint old author inscribes "These my few poems, the works of that maiden reigne, in the spring of our acquaintance, &c., &c., to the noble Sir Walter Aston, Knight of the Honourable Order of the Bath, Baronet, and of His Majesty's Privy Chamber".

"Soon after Sir Walter came of age he was made a Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of James I. On this occasion, the celebrated poet Drayton attended upon him as his esquire. Sir Walter Aston appears to have imbibed at an early age a decided taste for literature and poetry, for we find that Drayton dedicated to him his "Epistle to the Black Prince", in his collection of *Heroic Epistles* in 1598, at which time Sir Walter was about eighteen years old. But a long intimacy must have subsisted between them, as most of Drayton's subsequent poems were inscribed to Sir Walter, and it is probable that several of them were composed at Tixall, as may be gathered from the following lines of the *Polyolbion*:

"Trent, by Tixall grac'd, the Astons' ancient seat
Which oft the Muse hath found her safe and sweet retreat."¹

Sir Walter Aston was created a baronet in 1611, and sixteen years later was raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Aston, of Forfar, in Scotland.

Walter, his son, second Lord Aston, died in 1678. Respecting his life and his burial in this church some curious particulars are given in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, and reprinted lately in the *Trent Valley Parochial Magazine*, as follows:—

"During the absence of the first Lord Aston on his second embassy to the Court of Spain, his eldest son appears to have lived partly at Tixall and partly at Tutbury with the splendid hospitality expected from one of his rank and connexions, at the latter place entertaining on one

¹ Clifford's *Tixall*, p. 267.

occasion the King and Prince Elector. On the death of his father the ambassador in 1639, Walter, the second lord, found himself in very embarrassed circumstances, and obliged to relinquish, for many years, the style of living to which he had been accustomed. But on the Manor House and Lordship of Standon, in Hertfordshire, coming to him at the death of his maternal uncle, Ralph Sadler, Esq., in 1660, he was enabled to return to the splendid way of living, not unusual at that period, and to which both he and his lady appear to have been partial. The account is as follows :—

“ Walter, second Lord Aston, married the Lady Mary Weston. His father was many years ambassador in Spain. The estate of Standon coming to him through his (the first lord's) wife, a descendant of the great Sir Ralph Sadler, he removed thither, and there began his magnificent way of living. He had one hundred and one persons in his family. The writer resided there for three or four months every summer, from the time he was six until about his fourteenth year. The table was served with three courses, each of twenty dishes, and these were brought up by twenty men, who stamped up the great stair like thunder at every course. My lord had four servants behind his own chair. . . . The servants all dined together in the hall, and what was left was thrown together into a tub which two men took on their shoulders to the court gate, where every day forty or fifty poor people were served with it. When my lord did not go hawking in the afternoon, he always played at ombre with his two sons for an hour, and at four o'clock returned to a covered seat in his vineyard. There he sat alone, and none durst approach him. At five o'clock his chariot, which was made so narrow that none could sit by him, with a pair of his six gray Flanders mares, took a “trole” about the park for five or six miles. He returned at seven, and by eight would be in bed. He always lay in bed without pillow, bolster, or nightcap. Winter and summer he rose at four, and entertained himself with books, until it was time to go a hunting or hawking at wild ducks. He would never allow any but hunted venison at his table. Every day but Sunday one buck was killed at the least, but most commonly a brace. He never made or returned any visit, the court and address of that county (Herts) being made

to him. Thus my lord lived, until his son prevailed on him to return to Tixall. This was a great cross to his lady, who liked this way of living. And being now so far removed from her dear daughter Southcote, she grew melancholy and lost her wits, keeping almost perpetual silence, and refusing nourishment. Not long afterwards his lordship died, and his corpse was attended from Tixall to Stafford by about one thousand people."

This Lord Aston died in 1678, at the age of sixty-nine. No monument marks the precise spot where his remains were laid in the church.

A slate slab in the floor marks the resting place of James fifth Lord Aston. Thereon is his coat of arms, Aston impaling the Talbot lion (his wife being Lady Barbara Talbot, daughter of the fourteenth Earl of Shrewsbury), surmounted by his helmet, coronet, and the Aston crest. He died in 1751, leaving two daughters, co-heirs, of whom Barbara the youngest (to whom the mural monument in the eastern wall of this transept is erected) married the Hon. Thomas Clifford, and inherited Tixall.

Lord Aston (who was the last of the Tixall branch of the family) died, as the inscription states, in 1751, having caught the infection of smallpox while attending the funeral of a friend in Stafford. On the death of this nobleman, the title was assumed by a collateral relative, a descendant of William Aston, of Melwich, grandson of Sir Edward Aston, Knight, and uncle of Walter, first Lord Aston. This pedigree is related in *Kearsley's Peerage, &c.*

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS ON UTTOXETER.¹

BY F. BEDFORD, ESQ.

Saxon Grave.—The interment here, being in the earth, is evidence, beyond the existence of a cross over the site, that it is a place of Saxon Christian burial. The Saxons, in their heathen state, buried their dead above ground in a similar way to the Britons, and they frequently utilised, for burial purposes, the existing Celtic barrows, with as little scruple as the Romans had done. When the Saxons, however, flung off their other heathenish habits, they likewise laid aside that of burying their dead in barrows, and adopted the mode of interment which is now generally observed.

Roman ways.—Further consideration leads me to believe that the Rykeneld Street, or a Roman way of some kind, came to Uttoxeter direct from Netherland Green by Maiden's Wall Well, along, for the most part, the present road, there being yet a remarkable fosse along the east side of it towards the top of the High Wood. The narrow fosse way across the fields to the Roman encampment near Balance Hill, and which came out at Maiden's Wall Well, and so formed an arc, seems to have been for some kind of extra communication with the camp.

The Roman way, which has been traced to Buttermilk Hill, by Branstone from Burton-on-Trent, by Mr. E. Brown, might converge to the other one at Uttoxeter, although I believe it communicated with Stafford. It is a matter which I have thought considerably about, and I had hoped to have cleared it up before the visit to Uttoxeter of the members of the Archaeological Association, so as to have communicated the information to them. What I was unable, however, to do before, I have good grounds for stating that I have accomplished since. I am unable to discover any old disused way in the fields from Buttermilk Hill, and the continuance of the way must, I think, therefore be in the lane by Gorsty Hill, Scounslow Green, Hanging Wicket, Mee Lane, and so by the "Red Cow" publichouse to Kingston and Stafford, which is a byway along its entire length. Before examining the lanes I had formed the idea that the way had been made for Loxley and Bramshall to join the encampment at Stramshall. But on the lane leading to Loxley having such a sharp angle at Loxley Green, I gave that idea up; and the more readily as I could perceive no possible utility or sense in a way to Uttoxeter so round about as one would be by Branstone and Buttermilk Hill.

But the principal ground on which I am disposed to support this view of the direction of the Roman way from Buttermilk Hill to Stafford, is the fact of a Roman encampment which I have met with at the bottom of Mill Lane, near Hanging Wicket. In mentioning Mill Lane, it will be perceived that the encampment is close to the way I have traced from Buttermilk Hill, and two miles west of the encampment close on to the other way at Uttoxeter.

¹ See pp. 263-278 *ante*.

That the site I have mentioned is a Roman encampment, I obtained ample proof by digging upon it on Saturday, August the 17th, 1872. I made some seven openings, though not of great extent, as any large exploration would have been detrimental to much aftermath then. The encampment is in two divisions, enclosed by fosses, twelve spaces across by five feet deep. The part lying west is seventy-three spaces across by sixty-six from north to south. The other division, which is bounded on the east side by the old way, is fifty-two spaces by sixty-six. In the centre of the first mentioned quadrangle, I found one piece of coarse blue Roman pottery, a piece of bone, evidently human, and a little iron article. The soil for about two grafts deep is quite loamy, when uncut stones, sandstone and limestone, of no large size, appear. On the side near the north-west angle, where the surface is slightly elevated, I found I had pitched into a spot consisting of paste ready prepared to be made into coarse pottery. In it were mingled pieces of baked material broken up and almost gone to clay again. In this I found also one piece of late red Roman pottery.

I have no doubt that a moated site with a spring in the centre, near Buttermilk Hill on the east side of the Way, and nearly two miles from the encampment above described for the first time, is also a Roman camp, but it would require a very dry season to allow of it being reached.

It will be gathered that I also adduce the latter mentioned site in confirmation of what I have before said of what I have no doubt is a Roman way to Stafford.

It may be said the way is not a very direct one to Stafford, but the same might be alleged about it going to Uttoxeter.

In judging of Romano-British ways, we ought not, I conceive, to restrict our notions of them to their all being fine, wide roads sweeping across the country with the directness of a straight line; and as to the Rykeneld Street by here, I believe it is a fosseway which will be found regularly paved at a depth of a foot or eighteen inches. The way which traverses the great northern barrier was a tortuous one, although the wall was straight, never flinching from the most precipitous hills or tallest summits; and we are informed that the old Roman way on the hills near Hermon, in Palestine, was of a winding character.

I am quite of opinion with Mr. Molyneux, that during Romano-British times, and perhaps earlier, there were many ways intersecting each other, for the purposes of less remote intercourse than the principal roads. I am persuaded that there are few places more abounding in such kinds of relics as I have mentioned than the neighbourhood of Uttoxeter.

Proceedings of the Association.

MAY 28TH.

GORDON M. HILLS, Esq., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following members was announced:—

Robert F. Holderness, Esq., Wood House, Hamlet Road, Upper Norwood.

Francis Morgan, Esq., 138, Harley Street, Cavendish Square.

John Moore, Esq., Westcoker, near Yeovil.

Thanks were returned for the following presents:—

To the Society.—Cambrian Archaeological Association for *Archæologia Cambrensis*, No. 14, Fourth Series, 8vo. London, 1873.

“ “ “ To the Imperial University of Kazan, Russia, for the Bulletin and Memoirs of the Imperial University of Kazan for 1870-1872. Four parts, 8vo. Kazan, 1872.

Mr. Alfred Wallis was appointed correspondent for Derbyshire in the place of J. Henry Stevens, Esq., deceased.

Mr. J. Murton exhibited three fine implements belonging to the Neolithic period—1. Celt or axe-blade of yellowish-brown hornstone, seven inches and a quarter long and nearly two inches and a half wide across its sharp convex edge, which is nicely polished, and the whole surface of the implement is well worked. Weight, one pound and a half. This very choice example was found in a ploughed field in the parish of Yardley Hastings, Northamptonshire, and may be compared with the Yorkshire axes given in this *Journal*, xx, 103. 2. Fore-part of an axe-hammer (of the type shown in this *Journal*, xvii, 20), wrought of grauwacke, which, when entire, must have measured some twelve or thirteen inches in length, but barely eight inches now remain. Its greatest width is over four inches, and the haft hole, if perfect, would have been fully one inch and three quarters diameter at either opening, and has been worked from opposite sides to a certain depth and then punched through. The cutting edge is about three inches and a half

wide. Weight of fragment, four pounds fourteen ounces. Found at Silverdale, Lancashire, 1871. The largest axe-hammer in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy is ten inches and three quarters in length, and there is one from Scotland about nine inches long in the Meyrick Collection at Goodrich Court. In Denmark they have been met with twelve inches in length, but specimens of such sizes as these are very rarely seen. In the Cuming collection are two fine Thor's hammers, as these stone implements are sometimes called, both found in Lancashire, one at Hopwood, in 1768, the other at Saddleworth, in 1771. They were formerly the property of Sir Ashton Lever, who died in 1788. A beautiful axe-hammer, of a different type from the foregoing, discovered at Winwick, Lancashire, is engraved in this *Journal*, xvi, 295, fig. 8. 3. Ovoid-shaped maul of brownish grauwake, three inches and three-eighths long, two inches and three-eighths in greatest width, one inch and a half thick, and haft hole five-eighths of an inch diameter in centre. Weight, nine ounces and a half. Found at Silverdale, 1853.

Mrs. Baily transmitted for exhibition a curious group of Roman relics in iron, all of which were exhumed in London within a short period. The following are selected for description:—*Hamus piscatorius* or fish-hook, five inches and three quarters long, the point armed with a single barb, and the upper end of the stem bent round to form a small loop to receive the *linea* or line, which was sometimes made of strong hair, at others of flax. Roman fish-hooks occur from less than two inches to full six inches in length, and differ little, if at all, in form and character from those now in use. They are mostly of iron, but are also met with of yellow bronze, two delicate examples of the latter metal being in the Cuming Collection. *Forfex* or shears, eight inches and three quarters in length. The blades widen from their points to the bases, which are straight across, and the branches are united by a simple arch, whereas in later ages the spring took a circular form, spreading beyond the branches. This fine and perfect specimen may be compared with two given in this *Journal*, vii, 112, fig. 1, viii, 189. *Sagitta* or phleme, the Latin title being derived from the resemblance of its blade to the head of an arrow, and which in this instance measures from the cusp to the back of the stem three quarters of an inch. The tang was possibly fixed in a haft. This Roman *sagitta* is of great rarity, and the first example which has been noticed as a London find. One of a pair of ears of a pail or bucket (*hama* or *situla*?) five inches and a half long. It consists of a flat piece of iron, bent into a hook at top to catch the *ansa* or bail, and divided and spreading at the base into two volutes. Two examples of driving-hooks of unusual form, the bent portions being nearly semicircular,

dipping below the level of the straight stems, and terminating with conic heads. They are neatly wrought, as if intended for ornament as well as service. *Clavus muscarius*, a strong nail, four inches and a quarter in length, the quadrangular spike being surmounted by a convex head about two inches and a quarter square, the general form fully justifying its comparison to a mushroom. There is a similar example in the Cuming Collection, which was discovered in Moorfields, and it may be observed that such nails as these are found in sepulchral deposits. Nail or holdfast, nearly six inches in length, with a head three inches and a half wide, the whole having somewhat the aspect of a little pickaxe. It may be compared with an example engraved in this *Journal*, vii, 112, pl. 14, fig. 4. Nail or holdfast, two inches and a quarter long. The ends of the wide head are much deflected towards the point of the spike, which is provided with a square bur or rove of similar character to those noticed in this *Journal*, xxv, 79.

Mr. E. Levien read the following extract from a letter received by the Hou. Treasurer from the Rev. G. L. Wasey, vicar of Quatford, in reference to the visit of the Association to his church on the 8th of August, as described at p. 229 *ante*: "Whoever was of your party who pointed out the small splayed window as the oldest and especially Norman part of the structure, made an error. The whole of the somewhat large and peculiarly high chancel and remarkable arch is of exactly the same date and in the same preservation, the windows only being insertions, and the interesting feature of the whole history of Quatford is the accuracy with which the date is ascertained, and all but five out of twenty-nine attesting witnesses to its dedication between the years 1084 and 1093 have been identified and their presence accounted for by Mr. Eyton."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming called attention to a sketch he had received from Mr. Watling of a portion of the wall of the north chancel of East Harling Church, Norfolk, showing the position of some terra cotta jars which came to view in July, 1872, by the flaking off of the plaster during an examination of the roof-timbers. These olla-shaped vessels are nine inches in height, and about six inches diameter at the mouth, and are arranged in a line, about twenty feet from the floor, and three feet below the wall-plate, in the lath and plaster which rests on the solid masonry. They are placed on their sides with their broad-rimmed mouths turned towards the interior of the edifice. The date of this chancel is *circa* 1320. Mr. Watling states that in three churches in Norwich, viz., St. Peter's Mancroft, St. Peter's Mountergate, and All Saints', earthen jars have been found beneath the stalls at the bottom of the walls a foot or two from the ground. Mr. Cuming said that he had examined a small piece of one of the East Harling vessels, and that its aspect, paste, and high degree of firing agrees so

closely with the dark gray Romano-British fictilia of the fourth and fifth centuries, that he could see no reason why they should not be of ancient fabric, their form, as delineated by Mr. Watling, being perfectly Romanesque. As already indicated in the *Journal* (xvi, 361), terra cotta vessels have been found in the walls and ceilings of continental churches, which some have considered were there placed for acoustic purposes, whilst others regard them as equivalent to the tubes and hollow bricks introduced into the domes and walls of buildings for the sake of lightness. But whatever may have been the real intent of the examples referred to, there can be no question that the jars discovered at East Harling were deposited in the chancel wall with a view of increasing the sound of the vocal and instrumental music employed in religious service. They were in fact used like the ancient classic *echeia* of bronze and terra cotta, which were bell-formed vessels placed in cells or niches between the audience-seats of a theatre, for the purpose of augmenting the sound of the performers' voices. The dimensions of these harmonic vases varied according to the size of the theatre they were designed for, and were so nicely contrived that they reverberated all the concords from the fourth and fifth to the double octave. Vitruvius (v, 5), who is our great informant on the matter of *echeia*, states that such vases of bronze were inserted in the theatre at Corinth, from whence Lucius Mummius, at the taking of that city, B.C. 146, carried them to Rome, and dedicated them in the Temple of Luna. And the same author adds that—"many skilful architects, who build theatres in small towns, use earthenware vases to save expense, which, when properly arranged, have an excellent effect." An Italian architect may, for aught we know, have introduced the earthen *echeia* into Britain, and the vessels lately brought to light at East Harling have possibly, during the imperial *régime*, reflected the performers' voices in some provincial *Odeum*.

Mr. Stephen Isaacson Tucker, Rouge Croix, exhibited the seal of David Garrick, formerly in the collection of Captain Spencer Ricketts, R.N., and now the property of his son-in-law, our associate George Bonnor, Esq.

The seal is a tri-partite crystal, very finely cut, one impression being the head of Shakespeare, a second the initials D. G., and the third the arms of Garrick, with an impalement for his wife (a Hart salient). Mr. Tucker remarked that as the wife of Garrick was a *danseuse*, this fact at first led to the belief that the seal was that of the great actor's nephew, David, who married a Miss Hart; but a search amongst Mr. Beltz's M.S. notes for the Garrick pedigree (College of Arms, B. P. v, 411, 419), produced the interesting evidence that Eva Maria "Violetto" (Mrs. Garrick) was the daughter of an officer in the Dutch service named "Feigel", (Anglice "Violet"), and the bearing of the

Hart salient appears in a quartered coat to "Feiger" in a collection of Dutch arms (College of Arms, Philipot xlii, p. 47).

Mr. W. de Gray Birch read a paper upon the Great Seals of Henry I, which will be found at pp. 233-262 *ante*.

JUNE 11TH.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT., V. P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were returned for the following presents:—

To the Society. The Canadian Institute for Canadian Journal of Science, Literature, and History, vol. xiii, No. 6. 8vo, Toronto. 1873.
" " The Yorkshire Philosophical Society for communications to the Monthly Meetings, 5th March to 3rd December, 1872.

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition an extensive and highly interesting assemblage of Roman objects exhumed within the last few months in the city, several being of great rarity, and indeed unique as London finds. The following comprise a few of the more important items:—

Portion of the body of a snake, five inches and three quarters in length, of red terra cotta, the back decorated with two lines of incised circlets. From the contortion of the reptile, it was evidently never intended to weathe round the staff of Esculapius, and scarcely likely to have formed part of the caduceus of Mercury, but was in all probability held in the hand of a large statue of Hygieia, the Goddess of Health. Figures of Hygieia or Salus with the serpent are frequently seen on ancient gems, and on the reverses of Roman coins, as, for instance, on those of the Acilia family, and the Emperors Commodus, Pescennius Niger, Albinus, Macrinus, Philippus, and many others.

Lucerna, or lamp, of reddish-brown terra cotta, the concave centre bearing a winged effigy of Victory standing on an orb, holding a *corona triumphalis* in the right hand and a palm branch in the left. The round air-hole is placed a little below the chaplet, and the *myza* or beak is somewhat rhombic in outline, the aperture for the *ellychnium* or wick being of the usual circular form. The Roman *lucernæ* of terra cotta met with in London are generally inferior in design and manufacture to the present specimen, which probably belongs to a rather early period of imperial rule in Britain, as do also the Diana lamps engraved in the *Journal*, viii, 56.

Forma, or mould, for impressing the upper surface of a fickle lamp, of light-greyish terra cotta, five inches and five-eighths long, by three inches and seven-eighths at its greatest width. A fluted pattern radiates from the central aperture, and the *myza* has a rounded outline, the general character of design bespeaking the Christian rather than

the Pagan era of art. This *forma* is of the utmost rarity, for it, and a portion of one with the lower part of a draped figure in the Cuming Collection, are probably the only Roman examples of such things which have been saved from London excavations. A *forma* for a small mask found near Oxford is figured in the *Journal*, vi, 55.

Lingula or spoon, of silver, three inches and seven-eighths in length, the Latin title being derived from the fancied resemblance of the bowl to the human tongue. In the present instance the bowl is rather shallow, with a marginal line around its inner surface, and the pointed handle suddenly swells out at its junction with the bowl somewhat in the manner seen in the Roman spoons engraved in this *Journal* (vi, 451, and xix, 68), but less tasteful in character. *Lingulae* occur of silver and bronze, and of bronze plated with silver. They are mostly of rather small size, and seem to have been employed for special purposes, among others, as we learn from Cato (*De Re Rustica*, 84), for eating sweetmeats; and as the handles end, as often as not, in a point, it is not improbable that they may have been used, at times at least, like the *cochlear*, for drawing snails from their shells. *Lingulae* with exceedingly narrow bowls, and oblong bulbs at the ends of their handles, may be seen in the *Gent. Mag.* for July 1850, p. 29, and in this *Journal*, iv, p. 46. A silver cochlear with round bowl is given in *Journal*, vi, p. 149.

Three *spatulae* of *aurichalcum*, of brilliant hue, employed, like those described at p. 69 *ante*, as toilet implements. The smaller *spatha* is five inches in length, of elegant contour; one end terminating with an *auriscalpium*, or ear-pick, of round form. The two other examples are each seven inches and three-eighths in length; the thin blade of one being ovate, the other more lozenge-shaped; the handles of both ending in oblong bulbs. These are considered to be the finest examples of Roman *spatulae* yet discovered in London.

Three *styli* of iron, of peculiarly elegant design and superior fabric; one being five inches, the others five inches and a quarter in length. The smallest has a narrow blade with concave sides; the blades of the others are more spade-shaped. They have all ornamental brass inlaid mouldings just above their points. So large a number of *styli* have been exhumed in Queen Victoria Street, that it seems highly likely that an extensive "writing academy" existed hereabouts in Roman times.

Manubrium, or haft of bronze, rather under two inches in length; the shaft cylindric, with a compressed boss at one end, and a disc at the other, which is perforated to receive an iron point, or *stylus*, to be used most probably by the chirurgeon as a probe for the lachrymal duct, or some such purpose.

Acus of bronze, five inches and three-quarters in length, having a delicate, flattened, bayonet-shaped blade very sharply pointed, and the

slender, cylindric shaft terminated with an ornamental top. This curious object (unique as a London find) was doubtlessly designed for surgical purposes, its acute, narrow blade being admirably adapted for puncturing tumours, etc.

Craniotomy forceps of iron, five inches and three-eighths in length, with two crotchetts; one handle being straight; the other having a small loop, through which a cord passed to bind round the opposite haft, and thus keep them firmly united whilst the operator was inserting the *uncus*, as the instrument is called by Cornelius Celsus (vii, 29). The crotchetts of this exquisitely rare specimen may be compared with a woodcut in the work of Octavianus Horatianus (Argent., 1582, p. 223), under the head of "*De formis instrumentorum necessariorum in extractione fetus.*" Until the discovery at Pompeii, in 1819, of a number of surgical instruments, few objects of the kind have been recognised; and the three here described, added to the remains of the *scallpum* and the *sagitta* (or phleme) previously exhibited, form a group of the greatest interest.

Heads of two *hastæ velitæ* of iron, the one six inches and a quarter, the other seven inches and a quarter, in length, with thin narrow blades and well made conic sockets to receive the ends of the shafts. Missiles of this description are rarely met with in London; and so delicately are they wrought, that they might pass for the heads of arrows; but the blades of the Roman *sagitta* were much shorter, and broader in outline.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a small but valuable and interesting collection of eleven vessels of Roman and Venetian glass, lately exhumed from a peat-bed beneath London; all highly iridescent, a Roman *poculum* adorned with *lachrymæ* being especially so; the colours, green, rose, blue, and orange, being peculiarly vivid and beautiful. One bottle, once the toilette property of some Roman beauty, is still three-fourths filled by a wash of a saponaceous character, for the hair or complexion. Another piece represents the head of a negro surmounted by a turban of *lattimo* glass. Another, a portion of a hollow cane of deepest blue striped with parallel lines of white. This is Romano-Egyptian work intended for beads. This unique specimen also is highly iridescent.

Mr. Mayhew also called attention to a large open Roman lamp for burning fat. An enclosure of iron, oval in form, about two inches high, and four in greatest length, stands upon a tray of iron with edges incurved, and furnished with a finger-loop. Two ancient British ingots of fine bronze, respectively nine and eleven inches and a half in length. A Roman *tetina* wrought of finest clay, found in the remains of an oaken cyst. It is for the left hand. An ancient British drinking-cup; the skull of a fox, and fragments of a cooking-vessel; found together in

Southwark in July, 1873. Two vessels of black ware. A cup ; perhaps two cups. A very fine *pilum* with a portion of the *cunnu* in its shaft. Two large circular bronze *fibulae* with pins, complete. A very fine dagger of the sixteenth century, inlaid with bronze patterns : maker's mark in silver. Two beautiful ears of gilded bronze for a wine vase, representing the head of Silenus, with Greek scrolls. A sliding lid of a box, about six inches in length, of Roman work adorned with annulets, and pierced, apparently for a game resembling cribbage. The ivory top of a snuff-grater finely carved with the full-length figure of Pomona ; the head wanting. A *penna*, or case of horn, worn suspended from the neck, for holding writing materials. Such an one may be seen on the old portraits of Chaucer. All the objects exhibited were found in London.

Mr. Henry W. Henfrey exhibited three scarce contemporary pamphlets relating to King Charles I :

No. 1.—“The King's Cabinet opened ; or certain Packets of Secret Letters and Papers, written with the King's own hand, and taken in his Cabinet at *Naseby-Field*, June 14, 1645, by Victorious S^r Thomas Fairfax ; wherein many mysteries of State, tending to the Justification of that Cause for which Sir Thomas Fairfax joyned battell that memorable day, are clearly laid open ; Together with some Annotations thereupon. Published by speciaill Order of the Parliament.” London, 1645. Small 4to. 56 pages, and two portraits.

This famous tract was reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, London, 1810, vol. v, p. 514. Thomas Carlyle says : “The King's carriage was also taken, with a cabinet and many royal autographs in it, which, when printed, made a sad impression against His Majesty ; gave, in fact, a most melancholy view of the veracity of His Majesty,—on the word of a king ! All was lost.”¹ It has been remarked that these letters equally prove “Charles' systematic insincerity, timeserving, double-dealing, arrogance, and thirst for revenge ; and the reading of these letters is generally considered to have been as fatal to his cause as the field of Naseby where they were taken.”

No. 2.—“A Perfect Narrative of the whole Proceedings of the High Court of Justice in the Tryal of the King in Westminster Hall. Published by Authority, to prevent false and impertinent Relations.” In three numbers. No. 1, published 23 January, 1648, contains the first two days' proceedings, “Saturday the 20 and Monday the 22 of this instant January.” No. 2, published 25 January, 1648, contains the third and fourth days' proceedings, 23rd and 24th Jan. No. 3, published 29 January, contains the last day's proceedings, 27th January, “together with a copy of the sentence of death upon Charles Stuart, King of England.”

¹ Vol. i, p. 191, 1871, *ed.* of Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches.

The third pamphlet, "King Charles his Speech made upon the Scaffold at Whitehall-Gate, immediately before his Execution, on Tuesday the 30 of Jan. 1648. With a Relation of the maner of his going to Execution. Published by special Authority." Small 4to. London, 1649.

Besides these, Mr. Henfrey also exhibited a specimen of painted glass, *temp. Henry VIII*, from Hampton Court. The design is the united red and white roses of England surmounted by an imperial crown.

The Chairman remarked that, interesting as Mr. Henfrey's exhibition had been; it must not be forgotten that there was considerable doubt as to the authenticity of many letters and papers attributed to Charles I.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a Royalist's tobacco-box lately purchased at Hastings, and now the property of Mr. Mortimer of Eccleston Square. It is of horn, of oval form, four inches and a quarter high by three and a half wide, and about one inch and a quarter deep, outside measure. On the top of the lid is a three-quarter bust, to the left, of Charles I, with lace collar, ribbon, and George, with two little angels above supporting a celestial crown of five rays. Within the lid is a full-faced bust of Charles II with flowing wig, placed above the stout stem of "The Royal Oak." Both portraits are impressions on paper, from neatly executed copperplate engravings, in oval borders, and are protected by panes of pellucid horn.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that oval box-lids of tortoiseshell and horn, with busts, in relief, of Charles I, had already been described in the *Journal* (xxi, p. 354; xxiii, p. 90); but the example now produced was the first Royalist's tobacco-box decorated with prints he had met with. The portrait of the elder Charles seems to be a copy of one of Van-dyck's paintings, with the addition of the angels and crown of martyrdom. The designer of the print of the second Charles is not so obvious. The monarch's full-faced bust is placed in the oak as it is on the box-lids described in this *Journal* (xxvi, p. 85), where mention is also made of profiles of the King thus shown. In the present instance a pair of angels uphold a crown above the royal head; and beneath the spreading boughs of the noble old tree are five mounted soldiers, two of whom are fighting. The antique battledore alphabets were wont to be covered by plates of pellucid horn; and the so-called watch of Robert Bruce had a convex piece of horn over its face. So that this Royalists' box does not present a solitary instance of the use of horn instead of glass as a transparent protection; but it is, nevertheless, a great and interesting novelty in its way.

The Chairman, after reverting to the crystal swivel-seal of David Garrick, exhibited at the last meeting by Mr. S. I. Tucker, produced a trifacial seal of the same construction, with a boldly designed mount,

the whole being wrought of steel. One face of the seal displays a profile of Minerva; another, a cipher composed of the letters A. B. J. duplicated; and the third has the arms of the person for whom the seal was engraved, viz., two keys in saltire, with unicorn's head on a helmet for crest. This seal is of the first half of the eighteenth century, and was recovered from the Fleet Ditch in 1860. Bifacial swivel-seals of steel were fashionable about the period of the specimen exhibited; but trifacial ones are seldom seen. There is, however, one in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries in Edinburgh, with the initials, arms, and crest of the Fraser family.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills read a paper by Francis Joseph Baigent, Esq., "On the Painted Lid of a Reliquary Chest given to Winchester Cathedral by Sir William de Insula Bonâ, Knight, in the Reign of Edward II; and an Account of the Family of De Insula Bonâ, or Lyllebone." The paper was illustrated by a coloured drawing, executed by Mr. Baigent, of a piece of panelled woodwork in Winchester Cathedral, discovered in 1861 in a lumber-room in the south transept, subsequently removed thence to the north transept, and a few years later placed on the raised pavement at the back of the high altar.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following "Notes respecting the Archaeological Frauds of the late James Smith:"

"The fame of 'Flint Jack,' 'Billy,' and 'Charley,' has spread so far and wide among antiquaries, and their names have been so identified with the forgery of antiquities, that many persons seem to think that this trio of impostors have had no coadjutors in their knavery; that they, and they alone, have produced all the pseudo-antiques which have depreciated the value of many a genuine find, and disfigured the cabinet of many a collector. Undoubtedly William Simpson, William Monk, and Charles Eaton, have toiled most assiduously in their work of deception; but there have been fellow-labourers equally ingenious and unscrupulous, whose frauds have attracted less notice, and have in a manner become eclipsed by the gigantic efforts of their 'great exemplars'. If by allowing the name of a malefactor to sink into oblivion, we could thus destroy the mischief he had wrought, it would be purposeless to seek to preserve his memory; but as no such result can be brought about by silence, it is well, not only for the present generation, but for the sake of those who come after us, that some record should be made respecting James Smith and the frauds he practised within the last few years.

"Those who were wont to watch the excavations carried on in Upper Thames Street previous to the erection of the Railway Station, cannot have failed to have observed a vulgar looking fellow, some 5 ft. 5 ins. in height, of stout, clumsy build, with a face red as the comb of a turkeycock, a voice *loud* and harsh in sound, of rude and repulsive

manner, and generally more or less inebriated. This was James Smith, the gatherer of real antiques, the manufacturer of fictitious ones, the asker of equally high prices for both kinds of ware, and the vilifier of those who declined his terms. Having accidentally broken his leg, whilst in the hospital he was most kindly visited by our valued associate, the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, whose prayers and advice *seemed* to produce a salutary change in his heart and mind. There is an old story that once upon a time the Prince of Evil fell sick, and earnestly desired to assume the cowl; but on recovery abandoned the idea, and returned to his wicked ways; and in the same spirit did the subject of these remarks act, for no sooner did he quit the hospital than he returned to his evil courses, and his career terminated in April 1868.

“That Smith possessed a certain amount of talent and industry none will deny who will take the trouble, and have the opportunity, of examining his numerous works pretending to be relics of prehistoric, Roman, and mediæval times. The materials which he almost constantly employed were of ancient date, and actually exhumed in London; and by this *ruse* he became one of the most successful forgers of his day. I have a few of his fabrications, which will illustrate the bent of his genius, and show how skilful were his manipulations.

“The first objects claiming attention constitute a fabricated group of prehistoric relics in bone, among which may be specified the following: 1st. A pin or skewer, seven inches and three-quarters long (the point broken off), formed of a longitudinal slice of the femoral bone of the deer (?); the head perforated, and various tool-marks visible on either side of the shaft. 2nd. What may, perhaps, have been intended to pass for the cross-guard of a dagger, wrought of a piece of the *os humeri* (also of the deer), cut flat at the ends, and pierced in the middle. The condition of both of these bones indicates high antiquity, but the sawings and filings are palpably modern. 3rd. Pointed tool or weapon formed out of the distal half of metacarpal bone. 4th. Pointed spear-head, also wrought of a metacarpal bone. Both of these bones are of a rich brown colour, and were found, I suspect, in Moorfields, where genuine spikes and spear-heads have been met with. The 5th item in this group purports to be a flute, seven inches and a quarter in length, made of a metatarsal bone, with either extremity removed, the sides squared, and an aperture chiselled out in front towards the proximal end. This pseudo-antique *tibia* is tinged with green, from the bone having lain for ages in contact with bronze. These five objects are fair samples of Smith’s so-called archaic or prehistoric wares.

“The next group represents a later age, when superior tools were in use, and a yearning for decoration manifested itself. It comprises three table-pieces, two of them being thick, transverse slices of round

bones with void centres ; the third, a thin disc ; the whole dyed black, and the upper surfaces embellished with the ring and dot pattern, such as is frequently seen on late Keltic works.

“And before proceeding further with the frauds which are the motive of this paper, it must be stated that the art of dyeing bone of a jetty hue did not expire with James Smith ; but has been too successfully practised by a later forger, a big man who works in glass and old wire as well as bone, and one of whose confederates is an individual named Green.

“Smith’s capacious mind and ready hand provided for the collector not only personal ornaments, implements of war, and aids to amusement, but also things needful for household service, as is shown in the three *Roman* apple-scoops I exhibit, all fashioned out of metatarsal bones of the sheep ; the distal ends, as usual, constituting the heads of the implements. They are variously adorned with eyelethole patterns, etc. ; and one displays the incised letters *nv*, which may have been Smith’s mode of spelling *New*.

“So much for the bone objects wrought by our hero. Let us now turn to fragments of other substances utilised by him. I place before you a funnel, five inches and a half in height, and three inches and three-eighths diameter at the mouth, most ingeniously fabricated out of the pointed base of a Roman amphora of light reddish brown or fawn-coloured terra-cotta. The solid centre of this base has been drilled through with an auger, the marks of the spiral blade of which are distinctly visible ; and the outer surface has been worked down so as to produce a rim round the mouth, which in one place is scooped out to form a lip. This modern-antique *infundibulum* was declared by the maker to be very rare ; and fortunate will it be for the cause of science if it be really unique. .

“Smith kindly supplied the market with spindle-whorls chipped out of bits of Samian and other sorts of pottery, and now and then he tried his hand at scratching a few letters on ancient *fictilia*. He does not seem to have worked nearly so much in metal as he did in bone and terra-cotta ; but I have here a spur, the separate parts of which are perfectly genuine, but most fraudulently united, the eight-pointed iron rowel of the fourteenth century being riveted into the shank of a brazen spur of the time of Charles I ; and it will be observed that this rowel is of such a size that there is not space for it to revolve. Smith set all rules of chronology at defiance, scrupling not to fix the blade of a Roman or Saxon knife into a handle of the eighteenth century ; and no difficult task would it be to cite other examples of his fraudulent practices, but enough, I think, has now been said to prove the nefarious nature of his dealings.

“There can be no question as to the authenticity of the several

examples now submittted to the meeting, the whole having been obtained at different times directly from Smith's hands, accompanied with the unblushing confession that they were his own manufature : a confession made, however, after the solemn asseveration that they were genuine antiques which he had obtained from the finders. He, like others of his craft, was of course always ready with an eyewitness to the finding his spurious wares ; and doubtlessly, in some instances, the eye-witness could say with truth that he had seen the spurious things unearthed ; and other eye-witnesses could affirm (if they would) with equal truth, that they had seen the self-same rubbish *inearthed* for the purposes of fraud."

This being the last meeting before the vacation, the Chairman, in bidding the members a temporary farewell, expressed a hope that the Sheffield Congress, which was to commence on the 18th of August, would be a successful and pleasant one ; and announced that they would reassemble for the despatch of business, as usual, on the fourth Wednesday in November.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 232.)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 9TH.

THE members and their friends assembled at the High Level Railway Station this morning, and proceeded by the half-past eight train to Stafford, arriving there at nine o'clock. Here they were met by the Mayor (H. W. Gibson, Esq.) and Corporation, who received them most courteously.

Under the able guidance of the Rev. T. Finch a visit of inspection was paid to St. Mary's Church, which was described by the reverend gentleman, who read a historical paper tracing the foundation of the church at Stafford from Saxon times, and showing that the existing edifice must have been constructed about the year 1180 in its more ancient parts, which form the largest portion of the structure. The chancel and transept are of a somewhat later period. The Latin inscription on the font, which is well known, and of which several scholars and antiquaries have given various conjectural readings, attracted some attention. The font is coeval with the oldest portion of the church, and the inscription is of the same date. The church has been recently well and carefully restored, and its beauty attracted considerable attention and admiration.

It was resolved to postpone until after noon the intended visit to St. Chad's Church, and the party then proceeded by train to Stowe, where they were met by friends in the neighbourhood, who had kindly provided carriages for the accommodation of the guests; and the church was inspected, the Rev. Mr. Hydes acting as *cicerone*. The church is of the Norman period, and attracted considerable attention because of its simple form, consisting, as it does, only of a nave and chancel.

Chartley Castle was next visited, and the outer walls remaining were found to be of the twelfth century; but the round towers had been so greatly interfered with that it was scarcely possible for any date to be fixed for them.

The party then proceeded to Uttoxeter, where Mr. Redfern met and conducted the visitors to the town, and pointed out the Roman ruins

and other objects of antiquity therein. (See pp. 263-278, and pp. 302-303 *ante.*) A cruciform barrow in the fields, about three-quarters of a mile from Uttoxeter, was inspected, as was also another large barrow in the neighbourhood. In the town a number of Roman antiquities, collected chiefly by Mr. Redfern, were examined; and at the church two ancient tombs were objects of especial interest. These monuments are the only portion of the ancient church at Uttoxeter, except the tower and spire, still standing. One of the tombs is said to be that of an abbess. The inscription upon this is not to be seen, owing to the tomb being partly embedded in the wall; but the termination of a name may be made out, viz. "Stanley"; and there is also a date, 1583. The figure, however, appeared to be of an earlier date; and some of those present were asked to express an opinion on the point as to date, the question having been a puzzling one to all antiquarians who had inspected the tomb. The figure is certainly early; but portions of the tomb are of a later date. The other of the two tombs is of the sixteenth century. An inscription on the edge of it gives the date as 1500, in the characters of the time of Henry VII; and probably the monumental figure has been put upon a tomb belonging to a different person to that represented by the figure. Besides this there is another monumental effigy representing a very much decayed human figure, not a skeleton, but the figure of a man very much emaciated. It is not known who the figure is intended for. On account of its uncomeliness it is almost hidden away, so that very little of it can be seen.

The next place visited was Croxden Abbey, which belonged to the Cistercian order, and is a beautiful late specimen of the style of work afterwards adopted by these monks. It is particularly attractive on this account, as in the early period the style of their buildings was excessively severe, and the beautiful ornamentation here shown is but seldom seen in connexion with this order.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills described the building, and read a paper taken from an ancient chronicle, a copy of which is now preserved in the British Museum, and which gives minute particulars of the construction of the buildings. This chronicle was written by an inmate of the monastery.

A return was then made to Stafford, and St. Chad's Church was visited; but very little of the original Norman construction is remaining. The nave-walls have been filled in, the pillars being built partly in the walls; and there is little to be seen of the original, except the transept-arch and part of the chancel. A subscription is now being set on foot for the restoration of the church, and a hope was expressed that it would be restored with the care that such a beautiful building deserves. After leaving Stafford the party returned by train to Wolverhampton.

The meeting in the evening was one of a most interesting character. Lord Wrottesley (the Lord Lieutenant of the county) had kindly placed at the disposal of the Association a large number of very valuable and interesting parchment records, deeds, and other documents ; and Mr. W. de Gray Birch, Honorary Palæographer to the Association, had prepared a paper in explanation of the various charters and seals, etc., exhibited.

Mr. R. N. Phillips, D.C.L., F.S.A., took the chair, and whilst Mr. Birch was putting the documents in order on the table before him, Mr. Roberts took occasion to observe that he had promised to pay some further attention to the cross in the Collegiate Churchyard, in order that before they closed the meeting they might endeavour to come to some conclusion with regard to the age of the monument. They had heard the opinion of their Treasurer as to its antiquity ; and he might say that with regard to its date he coincided pretty nearly with the views expressed by Mr. Hills. The panels, or lower portion of the column, had the peculiar shaped canopies which must either be very early Saxon, or must belong to the end of the twelfth century ; and from other appearances about the column, he doubted the Saxon period, and thought the period of about 1190 the date that must be given to the column ; but inasmuch as there were still some remains of the Norman feeling in some portions of the column, he considered it could not be put later than that time, and probably it might be a little earlier. Then immediately above the canopies was a gable, which attached it entirely to the late Norman period ; and, as far as he could ascertain, not to Early English. That would, therefore, bring the date a year or two earlier. That was before 1189. Above the gable were the animals and flowers which Mr. Hills had described. He (Mr. Roberts) had not attempted to go into the antiquity of these ; but they had the characteristics of the period to which the gable belonged, that was to say, about the year 1190. Above this is a band of foliage showing the terminations and indications of that transitional period which might be stated to be from about 1185 to 1190. Besides that, there was the capital, which he believed was original ; and part of which, unfortunately, had fallen down that evening. He had got a piece of moulding of precisely the same date, and therefore he could come to no other conclusion but that the date of the column was between 1185 and 1190 ; so that he agreed with the opinion expressed by Mr. Hills, that it was of about the twelfth century : indeed, he could come to no other conclusion on the point. He and the other members of the Association who had expressed this opinion did not do so with any view to endeavour to lessen the antiquity of the pillar, their one object being to fix, as correctly as possible, the dates of everything they saw.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills said he was not aware the subject of the pillar

was going to be mentioned at all that evening ; but, rather opportunely, a note had been put in his hand from one of their members, who went away that day, and who had desired to say a few words of his own on the subject, as to the possibility of the column being a Danish one ; and he made a suggestion in this note which was well worth considering. He wrote : " Might it not be the fact that it was felt desirable to record in some way a Danish victory, or a victory over the Danes, at this spot ? Just in the same way as we put up monuments to record our victories in the Crimea, and called them Crimean and Russian monuments. Might not this be the way in which this pillar was originally erected,—to commemorate a Danish victory, and so called a Danish cross simply because it stood on the spot where a victory over the Danes had taken place, and where it was thought such victory should be recorded ?" He (Mr. Hills) thought the idea of connecting the Danish theory with the pillar, in this sense, was worthy of consideration.

Mr. Roberts said he had a note from Mr. Sneyd, the historian of Leek, asking his opinion of the age of a pillar found at Leek. Mr. Sneyd had sent him an engraving of the pillar, to show that it was not like this one at Wolverhampton. It was not sculptured in the same way, although it had a similar terminal at the top. But he gave no opinion as to its antiquity. He said he would wait very patiently to hear what the *savans* now meeting at Wolverhampton had to say of it.

At a subsequent part of the meeting the Chairman announced that Mr. Roberts had brought into the room the engraving of the pillar found at Leek, to which he had previously referred, to illustrate his observations with reference to the pillar standing in Wolverhampton Churchyard. Those who desired to examine the engraving would find some resemblance in it to the carving upon the pillar at Wolverhampton ; and those who had had the opportunity of inspecting that kind of foliated ornamentation carved upon various Norman works in this country, coincided in the opinion that they corresponded very much with the ornamentation which, on a close examination, could be found on the pillar in the churchyard here. He had himself noticed in different parts of England, his attention having been called to the subject, these very appearances in works of this kind ; and as far as he could, he must concede to the opinions that had been expressed by others on the subject of the pillar here, that it was a Norman, and not either a Saxon or a Danish pillar.

Mr. Roberts said he had received a letter from Mr. Sneyd, in which he stated that during the rebuilding of the chancel of the church at Leek some stone fragments were turned up ; and he could not help thinking that they had formed the cross-head of the pillar there. Mr. Sneyd had sent a small portion of the church cross, which any one

could see ; and he thought they would agree that it had formed the cross-head.

Mr. Birch then proceeded to comment upon Lord Wrottesley's documents, and he has since embodied his remarks in a paper which will be printed in the next number of the *Journal*. The charters and deeds explained were handed round to the ladies and gentlemen for inspection ; and the numerous examples exhibited formed a collection of interesting and curious specimens of palæography rarely brought together. Mr. Birch said the collection was quite unique, considering that they were the property of one family ; and he expressed a hope that they might be taken care of for many years, to delight others as they had delighted him, and he trusted also those who had been listening to him.

The Hon. Charles Wrottesley said that, with regard to the deed of Robert of Stafford, which Mr. Birch considered to be doubtful, he did not exactly agree with that opinion. He believed it to be a bad copy of a genuine document. He (Mr. Wrottesley) some time ago had gone into the whole history of it, and he mentioned circumstances which he had found in other old documents, remarking that these led him to believe the document in question to be genuine. He explained that when the grant was made Robert of Stafford was ill ; but he got better, and repented of what he had done, and it was not until ten years after that he gave the grant to Walter the Abbot. The several members of the Stafford family thought Robert had acted rather foolishly in the matter, and they refused, after his death, to consent to the grant, and the result was that a long lawsuit followed ; but being in the days of King John, the holy fathers of course conquered.

With regard to the circumstance that had been mentioned in the deeds, of a female described as a *libertina* (villein) disposing of a certain house and land, Mr. Birch said it would be found that females were allowed to possess land from the time of William the Conqueror, and instanced the celebrated Ediva, who held possessions over nearly the whole of England. It was not at all inconsistent with the law of land-tenure in England, in those days, that a woman should hold land. The meaning of the word "villein" was that those to whom the term was applied were under the power of the lord of the land, who had a right to give away or alienate those who were born upon his land. The lady referred to in the deed he had mentioned was probably a bondwoman, or a cotter. Mention of these persons was frequently found in *Domesday*, and they could be given away or transferred just as the lord could give away an acre of land or an oak tree. Females of her rank were not considered of sufficient importance to be able to judge whom they should serve, or whom they should belong to. With regard to the charter which he first drew attention to, he did not

wish it to be believed that he considered it to be altogether a forgery. It was a forgery in only a limited sense; that was, it was not what they might at first sight think it to be, and he could not consider it as an original deed or charter. It differed so essentially from other deeds of the same period, that he could look upon it only as a memorandum of agreement. Mr. Birch again referred to the fact that it was said in the deed that this Robert of Stafford made the grant by the request of Peter Bishop of Chester as a work of piety or penance; but Peter Bishop of Chester, who was also the first Bishop of Lichfield, died three years before the date of the document; and if they had really been entitled to the land, the monks of those days would have taken good care not to allow three years to elapse before they got hold of it. The greediness of the clergy of that period in acquiring land all round their monasteries was notorious, and was the cause of the passing of the Statute of Mortmain. The circumstance he had mentioned was sufficient, he thought, to render very doubtful the authenticity of the charter as an original document. He regarded it only as a statement of what the monks wished to be done rather than of the actual transaction itself. The fact of the Bishop of Chester's name being put in the deed three years after his death was very remarkable, and could be accounted for only in one way,—that in those times, when communication between different places was so difficult, the monk who drew up the deed might not be aware of the Bishop's death, and so put in the name just to give the document an appearance of authority.

The Chairman said he was sure the reading of the paper which Mr. Birch had prepared for them, and the exhibition of the documents, seals, and charters, must have been very interesting to all present: in fact, the charters and seals which they had had shown to them, disclosed to a great extent the history of the times to which they belonged, and that was exceedingly valuable. There was nothing that disclosed the history of a county in olden times more than these charters which had been made of grants of land to different large owners, whose descendants were found living in the county at this day. We found here, in this part of Staffordshire, the family of the Wrottesleys, whose name was so well known, in possession of vast numbers of these old documents, and it was exceedingly pleasing to have them so readily displayed before them. It was another proof of the great value attached to societies like the British Archaeological Association, going to different parts of the country, when they had documents of such value placed before them, and had them discussed and explained, as these had been, by a gentleman who so well understood their meaning and bearings as Mr. Birch.

Mr. Gordon Hills said that, after the exhibition before them, and the

paper which had been read, it was not purposed to trouble the meeting at that late hour of the night with the reading of any further papers. In fact, he might say that the papers upon the subjects set down in the programme for that evening, viz., "Midland Antiquities," and "Hales Owen Abbey Tithes," were not really papers, but explanations of valuable drawings and curiosities which had been sent; and at the suggestion of Dr. Langley it was thought better to withhold the explanation of them until the following evening, when the specimens would be exhibited at the Mayor's *conversazione*.

In reference to the origin of the name Wolverhampton, Mr. Roberts remarked that during the week he had promised his friend Dr. Langley that he would make some observations with reference to the derivation of the name Wolverhampton. He had communicated with a friend of his on the subject, and received from him a letter in which he gave the following explanation: "In Wol-ver-hamp-ton we have 'ton', the Saxon 'tun', a farmstead; and 'ham', a hemmed ground,—often a British or other earthwork. The 'm' in this case has become 'mp'. 'Wolver' or 'Wulfer', I suppose, is the worn shape of 'Wulfrun' (wolf-stream) or 'Wulfrune', the name of the good Saxon lady who is said to have founded the Old Church and a convent about the end of the tenth century. Thus we get Wolverhampton,—'Wolfrun-ham-tun', the farmstead, and Wulfrun's home or enclosure. I suppose Wolverton was another 'tun' belonging to 'Wulfrun'."

After some further remarks, the meeting passed a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Birch for his paper, and to Lord Wrottesley for his kindness in lending the use of the documents. As it was now nearly eleven o'clock, the company separated.

Biographical Memoirs.

SINCE the publication of our last obituary we have to announce the death of the following members:

WILLIAM HENRY BLACK, Esq., F.S.A., died on the 12th of April, 1872. During the early portion of his life he devoted much time and attention to palæographical studies, and served in the Public Record Office under the late Sir Francis Palgrave. He was a laborious and accomplished scholar and antiquary, and brought his knowledge to bear upon a great many subjects connected with the objects of our Association. He served on our Council from the first establishment of the Association, and in 1856 was appointed Honorary Palæographer; an

office which he continued to hold, with but a few years' intermission, up to the time of his death.

Mr. Black entertained peculiar religious views, and was well known as the "Elder" or head of a sect called the "Sabbatarian Baptists," whose place of worship was in Mill Yard, Goodman's Fields, where Mr. Black resided, and officiated regularly as clergyman to the congregation; his knowledge of Hebrew and classical literature being extensive, and his theological reading of a deep and comprehensive kind. Although Mr. Black had supplied so much information to learned societies upon various antiquarian subjects, it is remarkable that beyond a few scattered papers and essays published in journals or as separate pamphlets, no monument of his great and varied learning remains. At the time of his death he was engaged in preparing a new edition of the *Iter Britannicum* of Antonine's *Itinerary*, for the series of *Chronicles and Memorials* produced under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, of which part is printed; and he had got ready for the press a *History of the Company of the Leathersellers of London*, undertaken by him at the express desire of that corporation. It is to be hoped that both of these works will soon be published. Mr. Black died universally respected and regretted, at his residence in Mill Yard, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

Rev. THOMAS BAYLEY LEVY, M.A., Rector of Knight's Enham, near Andover, joined the Association in 1859; and died on 24th of March, 1872, aged fifty-nine. Mr. Levy was a Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford.

Mr. RICHARD GROVE LOWE, of St. Alban's, died at that place on 1st of July, 1872, aged seventy. On the occasion of the Congress there in 1869, Mr. Lowe acted as Honorary Local Treasurer, and rendered much aid to the Association by his business-like habits and general intelligence.

Notices of our other deceased members, including JOHN KNIGHT, Esq., of Henley Hall near Ludlow, who died in September, 1872, will be found in the Hon. Treasurer's Report at p. 216 *ante*.

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British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER, 1873.

ON EARLY RELIGIOUS HOUSES IN STAFFORDSHIRE.

BY E. LEVISON, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

IT is one of the most highly esteemed privileges of "our glorious constitution", that our parliamentary representatives may move for returns and commissions upon every conceivable matter that may transpire not only within the limits of our own country, but throughout "this mighty empire, upon which the sun never sets." It is no wonder, therefore, that certain members of our legislature, who are well known supporters of the Dissenting "persuasion", should have proposed an inquiry into "the origin, nature, amount, and application of the property and revenues of the Church of England." Neither is it any wonder that such a proposal should have evoked the following pithy sentences from a writer in our "leading journal", who says: "If the Dissenters would pledge themselves to abstain from any further agitation until such a commission had made a full and accurate report upon all these points, the friends of the Church would do well to procure its instant appointment. Doomsday itself would be likely to arrive before any ecclesiastical doomsday book would provide accurate particulars respecting the origin of revenues dating back to the Saxon times." And again: "The mover of the present question wishes to see an interesting inquiry pushed back to the time of King John; and it is evident that the roots of the question go

down even to the age of Melchisedek, as Mr. Gladstone suggests."

It is not, however, my intention to plunge, on the present occasion, into such a profound archæological quagmire as that indicated above, or to attempt to penetrate so far into those dense fogs which are called, by a polite euphemism, "the mists of antiquity". I merely propose to enumerate some few facts relative to the history of the earliest religious establishments of this county which are but little known, and have, I believe, never yet been brought forward in a collected form, in the hope that although I may not be able to give an accurate account of their revenues, I may yet be the means of conveying some small modicum of information respecting them, and supplying fresh topics for further investigation, which may be interesting to many, and more especially to those who by birth or denizenship are Staffordshire men,—men, of course, according to the modern acceptation of the term, including women,—and who will, I feel sure, pardon me if I should, in the course of these remarks, advert to any document or state any circumstance with which they may happen to have been previously acquainted.

With this object in view, then, I shall abstain from entering into details concerning the better known religious establishments of the county, such as the Benedictine nunneries of Blithbury, founded *circa* A.D. 1135; and Farwell, or Farewell, about 1140; their monastery at Burton, about 1002; and their priories of Canwell, 1142; and of Tutbury about 1080; the nunnery of Black Ladies at Brewood, before 1199; and the Cistercian abbeys of Croxden, 1179; Dieulacres, 1214; Hilton, 1223; and Radmore, 1140; the Austin priories at Rowton before 1135; Rochester, 1146; Stone as early as 670; Trentham before 1148; the Augustinian cell at Calwich before 1149; the house of Dominicans, or Black Friars, at Newcastle-under-Lyme; the colleges and royal free chapels at Gnosall, Tettenhall, and Wolverhampton (at which latter place there existed an ancient monastery built or endowed by Wulfruna in 996, which was in the possession of secular canons at the period of the Conquest; and also a hospital of the Virgin Mary founded in 1394); the Austin priory of St. Thomas; the hospital of St. John; the *spyttel*, or free chapel, of St. Leonard; and the college, or ancient free chapel, of St. Mary at Stafford; the hospital of

St. James ; a destroyed monastery or nunnery of very ancient date, of which Eadgitha, the daughter of King Edgar, was abbess, *circa* A.D. 975 ; and a collegiate church, mentioned in the taxation of 1291, at Tamworth ; with last, but not least, the cathedral establishment of Lichfield, which was the seat of the only bishopric in Mercia during the early Saxon period, having been an episcopal see as early as 656, an archiepiscopal one in 789, and still shines forth in the county "*velut inter ignes luna minores*".

Into any inquiry with respect to these ancient religious establishments there is, I say, no need for me to enter, since various particulars relating to them, and documents illustrative of their history, are printed by Tanner, Dugdale, and Shaw ; while descriptions of them more or less full have been given by several more modern writers, such as Britton, Browne Willis, and your learned and industrious fellow-townsman Mr. Parke (whom our President, in speaking of him, has justly styled "the Murray of Wolverhampton," and to whose kindness and courtesy, both socially and archæologically, the members of this Association feel themselves so deeply indebted), as also by our some time associate and President, the late Sir Oswald Moseley ; our present Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Gordon M. Hills ; and some others, in the *Journal* of our Society. To these and similar works, therefore, I would refer those who desire information upon the better known religious houses of the county, and proceed at once to consider those of which but few records are now remaining, and the very names and memories of which have consequently well nigh perished altogether.

In Tanner's *Notitia*, then, and in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, the early destroyed religious houses of Staffordshire are thus enumerated : "*Catune, Heanburge, Heambure, Hamburg* or *Handbury*, and *Strenshall*, formerly *Strensale* or *Tren-sale*", and it is upon these that I now propose to make some few remarks.

The first mentioned, then, of these destroyed religious houses is the Benedictine nunnery at a place called *Catune*, which appears, as I have said, both in Tanner and Dugdale ; and it also occurs in a paper by our Honorary Palæographer, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, "On three Lists of Monasteries compiled in the Thirteenth Century," which will be found at pp. 45-64 in the *Journal* of last year. It is

printed from three MSS. in the British Museum, numbered respectively Vespasian A. xviii, Cleopatra A. vi, and Titus D. xii. Upon these the writer says: "I have collated for publication three very early lists of monasteries arranged under counties"; and from a comparison of the text of these MSS. with one mentioned by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials for the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, which is now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Mr. Birch has come to the conclusion that they are all copies of the same work, originally written by Gervase, a monk of Canterbury, at the extreme end of the twelfth century. As Mr. Birch himself states the grounds upon which his judgment is founded, there is no need for me to recapitulate them here, and I proceed at once to assign, if possible, a "local habitation" to *Catune*, the name of which originally occurs in Gervase alone; and for which, therefore, he is in reality the sole authority.

Now we know that in 1176 Bertram de Verdon gave to the monks of Aulnay, in Normandy, a piece of land in this county, at a place which is called sometimes *Chotes*, and sometimes *Chotene*, where they built a Cistercian abbey which was three years subsequently removed to Croxden. This *Chotene* is generally supposed to have been at or near the modern Cotton or Cawton, which is described in the gazetteers as "a chapelry of Alton, in the southern division of Totmonslow, four miles north-east of Cheadle." But it may be asked how could a *Benedictine nunnery* which, according to Gervase of Canterbury, was existing at the end of the twelfth century, have any connexion with the *Cistercian monastery* at the same place? We can, perhaps, account for this by supposing that the vacating of the Cistercian building at Chotene by the monks, upon their removal to Croxden, afforded the Benedictine nuns or "Black Ladies" an opportunity of establishing themselves in a religious house which they found ready and suitable for their occupation. There is also a hamlet called Coton-under-Needwood, in the parish of Hanbury; and, as Shaw informs us, "no less than six places of the same name in this county", and with some of these Catune may probably be identical; but the exact site of the ancient nunnery, who was its founder, whence it derived its revenues, to what saint it was dedicated, the names of its superiors, the story

of its career, and at what period it was deserted or destroyed, are all matters which demand further research ; but which have not, up to the present time, obtained any satisfactory elucidation.

We now come to consider the second place on our list, viz., Heanbyrig, Heanburge, Heambure, Hamburg, Handbury or Hanbury (for by all these names it has, at various epochs, been known), founded *circa* A.D. 680. But here the difficulty is not similar to that presented by Catune, for in the case of Hanbury there appears to be a considerable latitude for speculation as to whether the several Hanburys mentioned as having religious houses in different counties were not in reality one and the same foundation, which underwent those vicissitudes so common among the early monasteries, and thus occasioned that confusion which seems to exist as to its real position. Shaw says : "The earliest account I find of this place is long before the Conquest, when the Saxon princess, St. Werburgh, superintended a nunnery here founded by her brother or uncle, Ethelred, king of Mercia", who himself became a monk, and ultimately died as abbot of Bradney in Lincolnshire, in A.D. 716. Now there are several Mercian charters printed by Kemble, Dugdale, and others, relating to places called Heanbyrig or Hanbury during the Saxon period ; but in none of these do any real data exist to enable us to say positively in what county the religious house in question really stood. Tanner, in his account, mentions religious houses at Hanbury in this county, and at Hanbury in Worcestershire, placing the date of the latter foundation in A.D. 833 ; and various authorities, from Leland downwards, endeavour to allot religious houses to places called Hanbury situated in five different counties, viz., Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Northamptonshire, Worcestershire, and Stafford ; but all the documents to which they refer are merely personal grants of land, and make no mention whatever of any religious house. The only reference to such an establishment is to be found in an instrument among the Cotton charters in the British Museum, numbered Augustus II, ix, which, as the original has already been printed, I do not propose to reproduce in the barbarous Latin in which it is written ; but a translation of it may, I trust, prove not altogether unacceptable. It runs, then, as follows :

"That the kingdom of God is to be sought after, and that it is more valuable than all earthly possessions, the Apostle Paul testifieth, 'for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal' (2 Cor. iv, 18). 'What doth it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?' Wherefore I, Wiglaf, King of the Mercians, with my bishops, dukes, and magnates, on behalf of the whole nation of the Mercians, and that we may obtain forgiveness of our sins, do entirely absolve from all small and great imposts, whether arising from known or unknown causes, excepting only the building of fortifications and bridges, that monastery in Hanbury or thereabouts, with the woods belonging to it, and with the fields and meadows, and all saltpans and furnaces, lead-mines and vills, and everything up to the height of heaven thereunto appertaining. And this endowment was made in Craeft, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 836, and in the thirteenth indiction, and in the seventh year of our reign, granted to us by our Lord. For the redemption of my soul I will make over, with a peaceful and loving disposition, the aforesaid places, with all buildings [*casallis*] which are subject to all these places, the which I will absolve for ever from supplying pasture for the king and nobles, and from the building of the royal palace (?) [*regalis villa*], and from that annoyance [*dificultate*] which we in the Saxon tongue denominate becoming surety [*faestingmenu*]. All these immunities do I grant with willing mind. Know ye, therefore, whoever may after me obtain my fleeting kingship [*labens regnum*], that the reason why I have subscribed, and given instructions to have subscribed, this gift and these immunities, is because I yearn ardently towards my Lord; and I trust that through his unspeakable mercy our Lord Jesus Christ will cause to be blotted out all my iniquities which I have unwittingly committed. I have confidence that, on account of this my deed of charity, He may deign to cleanse me from all [my guilt], as it is written, 'Correct my sin as it ariseth.' Only I humbly beseech you, my posterity, by the glorious and adorable name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this act of beneficence which, up to height of the loftiest heavens, I have dedicated to the Lord equally on behalf of myself and for the whole of the Mercian people, ye will suffer to remain standing, and deign to augment it."

Then follow the attestations of King Wiglaf himself, and of his Queen, Cynethryth, with those of Ceolnoth (or Celnoth), Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 833-870; Kynferth (or Cinebert), Bishop of Lichfield, 836-841; Hrethun, Bishop of Leicester in 816 (the see of Lichfield having been divided into the three separate dioceses of Lichfield, Leicester, and Dorchester, after the death of Bishop Aldwine in A.D. 737); and nine other bishops. Afterwards appear the attestations of the abbots, and lastly those of the dukes and magnates; after which, again, is the following memorandum reciting various grants of land to the monastery in Anglo-Saxon:

"This immunity was obtained from King Wiglaf, with twenty hides at Iddeshale, and the grant of that land at Habeccaham, with the ten

hides of land at Felda, near Weoduman ; and many thralls that have ten hides of land at Croglesage for their lives ; and after their lives, that land was granted to the holy place at Worcester."

Lastly, the document is endorsed thus :

" This is Hanbury immunity. It was obtained with the land at Iddeshall, and at Heanbyrig ten hides of land, and at Felda ten hides in Beansetum. And the Bishop paid Sigred the alderman six hundred shillings in gold, and many aldermen ten hides of land at Croglea."

Now Kemble, Dugdale, and Nash, have regarded this charter as referring to the Worcestershire establishment ; but this is, I think, to say the least of it, doubtful ; for first it is certain that the Hanbury in this county is by far the oldest foundation ; and it is, at any rate, curious that as it was not deserted until after the Worcestershire Hanbury is said to have been founded, another religious house of precisely the same name should have been established in the same kingdom of Mercia. If, moreover, it be objected that, whereas the foundation of the religious house at Hanbury in Staffordshire is of about the date A.D. 680, the charter of immunities which I have read was not granted till the year 836, and that the monastery was destroyed in 870, I would reply that similar examples are not at all uncommon in the history of the early Saxon establishments. For instance, among the many others that might be cited, where the incidents to which I have alluded closely resembled those which I am conjecturing may have happened in the case of Hanbury, I may refer to the well known Bredon Abbey, in Northamptonshire, which was founded before A.D. 690, obtained its charter of privileges as late as 844, and fell a prey to the Danes, together with numerous others around it,—and among them, perhaps, both Hanbury and the other early destroyed monasteries which we have under our consideration,—when they were ravaging this part of the country in A.D. 870.

Again, some of the names in the charter seem to point to Staffordshire, as, for instance, Felda and Weoduman, the former of which may be Felede or Fald (which is a hamlet in the parish of Hanbury in this county, and which, as Shaw tells us, is recorded in *Domesday Book* by mistake for Hanbury itself) ; and the latter either Hanbury-Woodend, Wood-houses, Woodhouse, or Woodland, all of which were in the vicinity of Hanbury, and were held, in the reign of Henry V,

of the honour of Tutbury.¹ The mention of Iddeshale, which is identified by Kemble with Iddenshall in Cheshire, may also serve to point to the Staffordshire establishment, inasmuch as this latter was, as we learn from Dugdale, removed to Chester when the remains of St. Werburg were transferred thither in 876.

However, I will not pursue this question further, although it is certainly a curious one. I will summarise the matter by remarking that Nash, in his *History of Worcestershire*, makes no mention of any religious house whatever at the Worcestershire Hanbury; and although I do not deny that it is possible that it may have existed there, still there appears to be so much confusion on the point, that it is equally probable that all the Hanburys mentioned by the various authorities to whom I have referred, as having religious houses, may be in reality one and the same place, and that that place was in Staffordshire.

Some doubt may also arise as to whether the charter itself, which I have translated, is a genuine one or not; for in the first place the Latin, as I have observed, is so atrocious that although, perhaps, we could not expect much in that line from the "king, the dukes, and the magnates", yet the bishops and abbots certainly ought to have produced something more creditable to their cloth. Had promotion by competitive examination been in vogue at that period, I much fear the right reverend prelates would have been nowhere. I am inclined to think, therefore, that the document in the Cotton collection is not the original, but a copy, and that the errors which appear in it are to be attributed to the transcriber; for I can scarcely bring myself to believe that any Archbishop of Canterbury, to say nothing of so many other spiritual lords, would have lent themselves to attest so villainously composed an instrument; and this supposition is strengthened by the fact that among their names are those of two bishops whose existence under the *cognomina* here given to them appears to be altogether apocryphal, for I have failed to find them either in Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, or in any of the other authorities

¹ See Shaw's *History of Staffordshire*, vol. i. p. 43, where he says that the "nomina villarum, &c., *infra honorem de Tutbury*," are "taken from an ancient record called the *Cowcher*, now at Handbury, and the *Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster*."

I have consulted upon this point. The names of these bishops are Husa and Cunda; and as the others are all easily identified, I take it that here again there is an error in the transcription.

I now come to the last of the destroyed early Staffordshire monasteries, viz., the Benedictine establishment at Strenshall, formerly called *Strensale* or *Trensale*. "This," says Tanner, "seems to have been one of the places near the wood of Ardern which King Egbert, or, as others say, King Ethelwulf, gave to St. Modwenna when she came out of Ireland in the beginning of the ninth century, and where she built a monastery and presided over it herself as abbess for several years." I would remark, by the way, that it was a very common occurrence for early monasteries to be governed by an abbess; and that however repugnant to more modern notions of monastic propriety such an arrangement may be deemed, it was considered perfectly *de rigueur* in olden times, and it certainly seems to afford a precedent, in these our own days, for those strong-minded ladies who are so anxious to establish their "rights" by regarding man as the very reverse of the superior animal. Tanner and Dugdale both print various documents relating to Strenshall, and refer to Gale's *Polychronicon* and Capgrave's *Vita SS. Modwennæ et Osithæ* for further particulars concerning it. I have only to add that subsequently King Egbert removed St. Modwena to Pollesworth, in Warwickshire, when Strenshall was deserted, and the establishment transferred to the latter named place.

Another early Saxon foundation to which I would for a few moments refer is that of the College of Pencriz, now Penkridge, concerning which Tanner observes: "The church of this place is mentioned in the charter of King Stephen and Pope Lucius [II, and dated 1144] as given to the Bishop and churches in the same manner with Wolverhampton and Stafford, which were notoriously royal free chapels or colleges; which makes it probable that this of Penkridge might be of the same nature." It may, perhaps, be doubtful whether it was ever a "college"; but it was certainly a royal free chapel, and Tanner himself quotes charters in which it is expressly termed "*libera regia capella*". But what is most curious about it, being, moreover, a circumstance hitherto I believe altogether unknown, is that both it and Tettenhall

were under the jurisdiction of the same dean,—in the case, at any rate, of Elias de Bristol, who occurs in the time of Elias [de Radnor], the Treasurer of Hereford in 1217. It is also remarkable that about fifty years before the date of a charter in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford confirming this fact, one Elias de Bristol was Treasurer of Hereford; but whether Elias de Bristol the Treasurer, and Elias de Bristol the Dean of Penkridge and Tettenhall, are identical, or merely relatives, cannot be stated with any degree of certainty. Attached to the charter is a seal of an oval shape, about one inch by an inch and a half, bearing a full length representation of the Dean of Penkridge and Tettenhall standing upon a carved corbel, attired in ecclesiastical vestments, and holding before him what may be either a book, or a kind of bag, or guipsciere, with the legend, [+SIG]ILL : HELIE : DECANI : D' : [P]ENCRIZ : < : D' TETEN[HALL]. Among the witnesses is "*Elias Tresorarius*"; and as the grantor is Elias de Bristol, "*Canonicus Helfordensis*", it is most probable that the latter was the son or nephew of that Elias de Bristol who is mentioned in Hardy's *Continuation of Le Neve's Fasti* (vol. ii, p. 488) as having been Treasurer in 1145.

I will now conclude these somewhat lengthy, and I fear tedious remarks by a slight reference to the ancient Benedictine priory of Sandwell, which was originally called "*Sancta Fons*", the "holy fountain" or "well." It was founded by William de Ophene, or Offney, towards the close of the twelfth century, and the site on which it stood is now the property of our President. Here, in modern times, there flourishes, under the auspices of Lady Dartmouth and other ladies who have devoted themselves to the noble work of ameliorating the condition of their less fortunate fellow-creatures, an institution which I venture to think has conferred upon its inmates far greater benefits than the taking of any monastic vows would do, at any rate in these busy and stirring times, and amid the ceaseless activity of this our nineteenth century life, by fitting them for all its varied responsibilities and duties. But upon these topics it is beyond the scope of this paper to descant; and as a pretty full account of the ancient foundation has been given by Shaw, who has printed several charters relating to it in the appendix to his second volume, and also by Tanner and

Dugdale, I need not waste time by dilating any further upon it, except to remark that the last named authority says that "no seal of this priory has been discovered"; but there is now in the British Museum the matrix of a monastic seal of a pointed oval shape, about three inches by one

inch and two-thirds, bearing a representation of Jesus Christ seated and draped, with a cruciform nimbus round his head; elevating his right hand in benediction, and holding in his left hand a book with the legend as follows: + SIGILV COMVNE SANE (*sic*) MARIE MADALENA (*sic*) DE SANDWELLE. The art illustrated by this seal is, as will be seen by the annexed woodcut, of a very peculiar nature, and is totally unlike that of any known style of seal-engraving. It was probably made in the fifteenth century by some one who had before him an impression of the seal of the priory as old as the foundation, namely, *temp. Henry II*; and in this sense it

may be regarded as a mediæval forgery, or rather an imitation; but whether it was made for fraudulent purposes, as we know was sometimes the case even in those unsophisticated times, or merely to renew a worn out seal, cannot be with certainty determined.

I have thus brought together such facts relative to some of the ancient religious houses of this county as a cursory search made during some few hours snatched from other important avocations has allowed me to collect. Doubtless other sources of information are available to those who have the leisure and inclination to investigate them. "Tis opportune", says Sir Thomas Browne, "to look back upon old times, and contemplate our forefathers. Great examples grow thin, and to be fetched from the passed world. Simplicity flies away, and iniquity comes at long strides upon



us. We have enough to do to make up ourselves from present and passed times, and the whole stage of things scarce serveth for our instruction. A complete piece of virtue must be made from the centos of all ages, as all the beauties of Greece could make up but one handsome Venus."¹ So, too, we must labour among the *disjecta membra* of information which lie scattered about in various parts of our country, if we would worthily record the deeds of our ancestors, and rescue from oblivion those noble monuments which they raised in bygone ages. How gratifying, then, to us must be the thought that in this very neighbourhood materials may be found which may still further illustrate not only the subject which I have so imperfectly treated, but many others connected with the history and antiquities of Staffordshire. I allude, of course, to the splendid library collected by the late Mr. William Salt, and presented to this county by his widow. In it there are, if I am rightly informed, above two thousand volumes, mostly on subjects relating to the earlier history of Staffordshire, and about the same number of state proclamations and orders in council, besides a large collection of old tracts, pamphlets, sermons, newspapers, etchings, and engravings, relating to and illustrating the towns, villages, and worthies of the shire ; its histories by Erdeswicke, Shaw, Plott, Pitt, Nightingale, Garner, and several minor historians ; besides a manuscript collection of over two thousand Staffordshire coats of arms in blazon, and a considerable number of the monastic seals of the abbeys and priories of the county.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that with such materials at hand, further light may soon be thrown on many subjects which have hitherto remained either in total darkness or partial obscurity ; and that those to whom the history of their own country is dear, will not hesitate to dig deep into treasures which have been poured into the laps of Staffordshire men by a Staffordshire lady with a liberality and kindly feeling which is beyond all praise, as a *κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί* : and not only as a lasting possession, but a constant source of pleasure and pride to a town which has in its turn provided a receptacle worthy of them, and has thus added to the material wealth of the district a mine of treasure which

¹ See the dedication of his *Hydriotaphia* to his "worthy and honoured friend, Thomas Le Gros of Crostwick, Esquire."

is always accessible to those who would avail themselves of it, and will in future time prove an endless aid to the self-help and advancement, both intellectual and moral, of generations yet unborn.

A

GLANCE AT THE SAINTS OF STAFFORDSHIRE.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

ALBEIT

“ Wotton-under-Weever,
Where God came never,”

be a portion of Staffordshire, the county is so pregnant with memories of holy personages that it may be regarded as a sort of *terra sancta*, and infinite would be the labour to gather up and chronicle the traditions respecting them which still hover about many a spot in this quarter of the old Mercian kingdom. But long before the foundation of Mercia by Crida, A.D. 586, or, indeed, ere the Teutonic hordes of plundering cut-throats had responded to the invitation of the infatuated Vortigern, the broad expanse now designated Staffordshire had begun to furnish material to swell the great muster-roll of saints and martyrs. The persecution of the Christians, raised by Diocletian, spread far and wide through the Roman empire, and reaching Britain in the year 303, full a thousand worshipers of the Lord Jesus were immolated in what has long been known as “Christian Field”, at Stichbrook near Lichfield; and a quaint representation of this horrid massacre is given on the seal of the Free Grammar School of the town, as may be seen by referring to our *Journal* (xii, p. 233). It was during this fearful period that St. Alban suffered at Verulam in Hertfordshire, and St. Aaron and St. Julius at Carlisle. But this sanguinary persecution simply retarded the advance, and in no way quenched the light of the Gospel in our island; and the overthrow and decapitation of Penda, the heathen sovereign of Mercia, by the canonised assassin, Oswy of Northumbria, in 656, opened the portals of the Mercian kingdom to the Christian missionary; and no sooner was this effected than the ecclesiastic rule of the province was entrusted to a Scot named Diuma.

In the seventh century was founded the bishopric of Lichfield, the first prelate of the see being the famous St. Ceadda or Chad, who died in the pestilence of 673, and whose name is as familiar to the ears of Londoners as it is to those of Staffordshire men, his holy well in Fifteen Foot Lane, on the east side of Gray's Inn Road, near King's Cross, having long been renowned for its medical virtues. Though no less than thirty-one churches in England are dedicated to St. Chad, he occupies no very prominent position in art. His most ancient existing effigy is in all probability the one in his church at Shrewsbury, which survived the wreck of the old building which fell down in July 1788. The dwarf cerastium (*cerastium pumilum*) is assigned to St. Chad; and his day (March 2) is marked in the clog-almanacks by what seems to be a branch of a tree.

Besides St. Chad the see of Lichfield has added to the calendar two other holy men of note, to wit, St. Sexwulf (674-705) and St. Cimbertus (*circa* 870), whose respective festivals were held on January 28 and February 21.

Wulfhere, the turbulent King of Mercia (656-675), dwelt in the old Castle of Darlaston, near Stone; and it is a fair presumption that in this royal fortress his queen, St. Eormengild or Ermenhilda, may have given birth to her saintly brood, whose names are so closely linked and interwoven with the history and traditions of Staffordshire. King Wulfhere was not always a member of the Church of Christ, and whilst in a state of paganism slew his sons, St. Wulfadus and St. Rufinus, for having embraced the religion of the cross; but afterwards, about the year 670, founded the college at Stone in expiation of the dreadful crime he had committed. The nunnery at Stone was founded by St. Ermenhilda in memory of her eldest son Wulfadus; and the chapel at Burston was erected by her on the spot where her younger boy, Rufinus, was martyred; and in after ages the festival of these royal youths was celebrated on July 24. These two holy brothers had a sister as holy as themselves, St. Werberge or Warburga, abbess of Hanbury in Huntingdonshire, whom Florence of Worcester (*s. a. 675*) states, drew her last breath in the nunnery at Trentham; and William of Malmesbury (ii, 13) informs us that she was buried at Chester, and is regarded as the patroness of the monastery. There are nine churches in England bearing

this virgin's name, and her memory was duly honoured on the 3rd day of February.

King Wulfhere had not only saintly children, but a lot of equally saintly brothers and sisters, whose names are here appended. St. Ethelred, who, after usurping the sovereign rights of his nephew Kenrid, and conniving (as is surmised) at the murder of his own wife, Ostrithe, became a monk, and died abbot of Bardney in Lincolnshire. St. Merwal or Merewald, King of the West Hecanes, or inhabitants of Herefordshire, who had for wife St. Eormenbeorg or Ermenburga. St. Mercelin, who succeeded to the Hecana throne on the death of his brother Merwal. St. Kyneburg or Keneburghe, wife of St. Alfrid, King of Northumbria ; and St. Kyneswith, both of whom became nuns in the monastery of Dormundcaster, near Peterborough, founded by their brothers Wulfhere and Ethelred, and called Kyneburgcaster or Kyneburg's Castle. The saints Merewald and Eormenbeorg had for daughters, St. Mildburg, St. Mildred or Mildryth, and St. Mildgith ; and for son, St. Merefin, whom Florence of Worcester (s. a. 675) extols as "a youth of eminent piety".

The most renowned saint of the royal race of Crida, and saintly county of Stafford, was the infant martyr Kenelm, of whom something has already been said in our *Journal* (xix, p. 98) in illustration of a pilgrim's sign bearing, as supposed, the initial of his name. St. Kenelm, who is to be found in the calendar under July 17th, was the son of Kenulph, fourteenth monarch of Mercia, and succeeded his father in 819, when only seven years of age. His sister, the Princess Quendreda, was left his guardian ; but she, greedy to become queen, caused her infant charge to be murdered by a wretch named Ascobert, in a field at Clent, now called "Cowbach." Though the body of the poor child was artfully concealed, the foul deed was revealed by a miracle in a distant land. According to the old legend, an angel let fall upon the high altar of St. Peter's at Rome a scroll bearing in golden characters the announcement that

"In Clent cow-pasture, under a thorn,
Of head bereft lies Kenelm king-born."

As a miracle made known this startling fact, so in like way a miracle manifested the burial-place of the boy-king, for a luminous beam appeared above the exact spot where the corpse lay. The mangled remains were exhumed, and after-

wards translated to the Abbey of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, where many wonders are reported to have been wrought at the royal shrine. Clent Chapel occupies the site where the infant's body was said to have been discovered ; and there was formerly to be seen (and it may even yet exist) a sculpture on its wall representing a crowned child, which has been considered to be an effigy of St. Kenelm. There are within the bounds of the ancient Mercian kingdom ten churches dedicated to St. Kenelm ; but there is little about them, save the name, to keep the king and martyr in remembrance.

In 1832 there appeared in the *Mirror* (xx, p. 4) a very clever poem of one hundred and forty-four lines, entitled "King Kenulph's Daughter," in which full details are given respecting St. Kenelm and the fate of his wicked sister, Quendreda. It is too long for insertion here, but is worthy of perusal by those who are fond of history in verse.

St. Kenelm's Well at Clent has long since been choked with weeds and briars ; but its mention brings to mind other sacred springs and personages. The sulphurous waters of the holy well of St. Erasmus, between Stafford and Ingeshire, were famed for their efficacy in several disorders ; and a still more celebrated well was that of St. Bertram at Ilam, near Leek, which, with his ash-tree and tomb, drew many pilgrims hither. This wonderful ash was held in supreme veneration ; and to prevent spoliation it was affirmed that to pluck a leaf or snap a branch from it, was attended with vast danger.

Although there be no existing memorial of St. Bertilline, he must not be passed over in silence ; for this devout hermit dwelt for many a long year in a cell at Stafford, profiting as best he could by the instructions he had received from St. Guthlac.

Wulfrena or Wulfrune, the pious widow of Aldhelm, Duke of Northampton, also demands a word ere we conclude this brief and imperfect summary of venerated personages. The town of Wolverhampton is supposed to derive its name from this charitable dame, who about the year 996 founded here a priory ; and this and other acts of grace render her worthy to be grouped with the holy ones we have been considering.

Rapid though our ramble has been among the Mercian

saints more or less closely connected with Staffordshire by local traditions or ties of family, it has been long enough to see how rich a mine of so-called piety there is for those to work at who care to revive the memories of individuals who were accounted shining lights amid the gloom of superstitious ages. It is beside our present business to pass judgment on them. The monkish scribes dub them *saints*, and we as archæologists are bound to echo the old designation, notwithstanding some at least were guilty of revolting crimes, if history belie them not.

ON A FEW ANTIQUITIES FROM THE LIZARD DISTRICT, CORNWALL.

BY THE REV. ALFRED H. CUMMINGS, F.R.H.S.

THERE are some spots in this land almost void of interest either historic or antiquarian. From their isolation they have taken no great share in the events of the country, and therefore, when perchance some object which tells of past ages is turned up from below the turf, there is little to be said beyond the mere description of its form, size, and purpose. Other districts there are so rich in antiquarian remains, that volume after volume has been written concerning them ; and again one's pen is tied, for all that one can say on a fresh discovery, beyond the details of the find, is very much what has been said before.

This is eminently the case of Cornwall. Its tumuli, cromlechs, and kistvaens, have been well dissected ; the vast number of urns, implements of bronze and stone, and hoards of coins, from time to time brought to light, and apparently, if we may judge from recent researches, still unexhausted and inexhaustible, have formed the text for many a tome, many a learned disquisition. The folios of intelligence that we have concerning its early inhabitants and visitants carry us back to the days of Phœnicia ; and it is contended that the Phœnicians first discovered the Danmonium promontory, and gave it the name *Meneog* or *Menedg*, which it bears to this very day. This ancient Ocrinum, or Danmonium promontory, of Ptolemy presents a rich feast for the

archæologist who has the time and permission to visit and examine its multitude of antiquities, whether Roman encampments or sepulchral barrows, its way-side crosses and moorland cromlechs. From time to time, however, it happens some memorial of past ages is picked or dug up by the labourer, and finding its way into hands of private individuals, or, what is still worse, the marine store or melting pot of some country dealer, is there lost in oblivion. Anything that rescues ancient relics from this fate will be welcomed by the true archæologist ; and in this spirit it was the few antiquities here described were collected together by the writer in that far end of West Cornwall, the *Menedg*, or "stony district," of the Lizard.

Cury and Gunwalloe, the two parishes in which the chief of the following were found, form on the map a long parallelogram, or an almost irregular figure, along the seaboard of Mount's Bay ; stretching from Helston and the Looe Pool on the one side, half way to the Lizard Point on the other. On the very edge of the bare Goonhilly downs stands, in the parish of Cury, amid a luxuriance of foliage all the more beautiful because of the succeeding barrenness, the ancient house and manor of Bochym ; more than once quoted, and that truly, as "the first and last" gentleman's mansion in England. It is here lies the scene of one of our most interesting discoveries ; and yet there is nothing in the aspect of the place to raise such an expectation. It is, indeed, a remarkable manor and estate, with a pedigree as long as any could wish for, and a history romantic enough for the most ardent imagination ; but ancient relics do not always favour romance, and it is often by the most commonplace people, and in a thoroughly every-day matter-of-fact way, that some of the most important researches and discoveries have been made and carried on, accident and observation ever lending a helping hand. Nevertheless Bochym has a history which can be traced to the Norman conquest, when it fell, with almost the whole of Cornwall, to the share of Robert Count of Mortein in Normandy, half-brother of William the Conqueror. In the "*Terra Comitis Moritoniensis*" is included Helston ; but "*Buchent*" was taxed before the days of the *Domesday Survey*, for in the time of Edward the Confessor one Bristualdus held the manor, who paid "geld" or tribute to the amount of three shillings for an aggregate



PLATE 14



W. E. L. Rea

of two hundred and thirty acres, besides twenty acres of pasture and twenty acres of wood, on which the four *bordarri* or cotters who tilled the soil were settled.

But to return. Bochym may yet contribute much in the future that will help us to elucidate and understand the habits and usages of those who lived in times essentially of legend and tradition. Meanwhile, in the most unromantic of all places on this ancient manor, a stone quarry, we have brought to the light of day memorials of the Celtic race that take us back far beyond the date of any written record of Bochym.

There existed in 1869, a few hundred yards from the house, a high wall of rock, whether the result of art or nature is by no means certain. By the side of it ran, in summer, a babbling brook ; in winter, a roaring torrent. In its immediate vicinity stood once the Chapel of St. Mary at Bochym, in the garden of Clahar, the path to which (though the chapel has long since disappeared) is still marked by some rude *stiles* remarkable alike for their shape and solidity and their antiquity. Here, then, in 1869 the rock was being quarried ; and shortly after commencing the work, the men employed discovered, lying on a ledge of the stone, *in a hole*, the four celts (Nos. 1 to 4) here described. They are of ironstone or greenstone, not of equal coarseness. Plate 12, No. 1, is apparently much softer than the others, to judge by the manner in which it is honeycombed with age or exposure ; while none of them bear the traces of any amount of wear. Pl. 12, No. 3, is of a very peculiar type, being rounded off or bent at the point in a mode rather more than accidental ; and it is in a state of brilliant preservation, having quite an edge at its broader end, without a scratch or chip.

Whether celts such as these are the ordinary working tools of their ancient owner, and were deposited in a hiding-place for security, or whether they were the arms of a warrior, and their close proximity to each other the result only of accident, must remain yet a problem. We know that in the case of bronze implements, hoards of them have been found in Norfolk, Kent, and elsewhere in these islands ; and the conjecture is more than probable, that when in quantities like this, and *unused*, they form a part of the stock in trade of the maker. This, too, would seem to account for their

being sometimes discovered in sets, as it were, and of every variety of shape and pattern. (*Archæologia*, vol. xv, p. 118; *Journal*, British Archæological Association, i, pp. 51, 59; ii, pp. 9, 58.)

On the vexed question, are they arms or tools? the author of the *Collectanea Antiqua* (i, p. 105), no mean authority, writing of those discovered at Attleborough, and communicated to this Association (*Journal*, i, p. 58), observes: "Some of them have been with reason supposed to be weapons, affixed to a short wooden handle for close warfare. Their connexion with gouges and other implements seems to render their exclusive use for purposes of war at least questionable. Found in close company with gouges and implements of domestic use, they appear to be tools; when discovered in juxtaposition with a sword, further evidence is still required to settle the question."

It is but fair, with regard to the question of their use, to mention the theory of their present owner, that they were probably used for domestic purposes, and in particular that of skinning animals and cutting up food; and this is rather supported than otherwise by what we know of the primitive usages of rude and uncivilised nations. Even the Esquimaux use tools of bone, horn, and wood, to tear off the fat from the surface of skins intended for clothing. (*Arch. Journal*, xxviii, p. 44). If so, why not these stone implements by the early races of Cornwall to skin the animal in hand, or hew it in pieces *after* it was skinned? Implements such as these were in use all over this island, as we discover, and in many cases were sharp enough to be used as chisels. Of this type No. 3 seems to have been one.

Pl. 12, No. 5, is an implement of a very different kind, of a softer stone,—an axe-head of an ordinary type, but broken at the end; the interest attaching to it being mainly that it was found in a heap of stones from an adjoining field, which were gathered up for the purpose of mending the road.

In a similar way, the curious, turned boss (Pl. 12, No. 7) escaped destruction, only after greater peril, for it was discovered uninjured upon the roadway, in the midst of the newly laid metal, at least six months after the road had been repaired and the stones laid down. The use to which this stone was put must, it is feared, remain a matter of

mere conjecture. Without laying down any theory upon the subject, I will only mention their ancient use in games, as a *signum* in taking an oath (Roman); and it is at least noticeable that while there is no stone to be had of like character with the material of the boss within miles of Bochym, there is at no great distance (six miles) across country a Roman camp; and Roman coins, hereafter described, were turned up within four miles of the spot.

Pl. 12, fig. 6, carries us back to ancient days indeed. It is a round, quoit-shaped stone, of the hard green serpentine rock found in the neighbourhood. A fanciful imagination has suggested that it is a quoit, and as such used in the early days of its manufacture; yet there can be little doubt that it may lay claim to greater antiquity and a more useful purpose, as an ancient muller for grinding tin. We must go to the Phoenicians and Diodorus Siculus; for not far from the place of this discovery lies the valley of the Looe with its far famed Looe Pool, and its bar of sand. To this day the tin stream-works flourish on the hill-side, and their refuse runs down into the Looe to discolour its waters and poison its fish; and there, on either side of the valley, in the old workings, may be still picked up *mallers* of like material with this; and still may be seen the flat blocks that formed the nether millstone, and upon which the tin was pulverised in these primitive times.

If it be true what Camden says of the *Menedg* of the Phoenicians, that in discovering it they discovered a world of tin, and secured it to themselves, may it not have been also that the Phoenicians of whom Diodorus Siculus writes, sailed with their vessels up the then open harbour of the Looe, and anchoring at the head of the creek in the Cober river, received there their consignment of the metallic produce of the ancient Danmonii? Be this as it may, there still stands, looking down upon the vale,—joining it, one might say, by St. John's gateway,—one of the most ancient of the old “coynage towns”, the early charter of which (one of King John's in 1201) grants privileges to the town, and confirms former ones, chiefly in connexion with and on account of the flourishing mills and stream-works of tin, in the valley of the Cober below.

That the ancient Britons did use mallers, both large and small, to grind their fragments of rock and tin-ore, seems

evident from an elaborate description of one in the Scilly Islands, the remains of which are still visible. The whole passage is worth transcribing, as given by Hitchins (vol. i, p. 249): "Upon the top of the hill is a natural rock, about nine inches above the surface of the ground, with a round hole in its centre, eight inches in diameter, supposed for an upright post to work round in ; and at the distance of two feet from this hole in the centre is a gutter cut round in the rock, out of the solid stone, fourteen inches wide, and nearly a foot deep, wherein a round stone, four feet in diameter and nine inches thick, did go round upon its edge, like a tanner's bark-mill, which is worked by a horse. The round stone has a round hole through its centre, about eight inches in diameter. This is supposed to have been a mill for pulverising the tin-ore in ancient times, and worked either by men or a horse, before stamping mills were known of the present construction."

Before leaving the group of celts there is another to be described, a specimen of more advanced workmanship. It is an unfinished hammer-head of greenstone, weighing one pound twelve ounces and three-quarters, pointed at the end, and the lower edge quite flat, while the upper is rounded off. The entire face of one side is ground down, probably by wear, to a plane inclined sideways from that of the original surface. Nearly in the centre of each side a hole has been commenced for the insertion of a handle; but the hole remains unfinished, and the perforation is incomplete. This was found in 1871, in a croft at Burnow, a farm in this parish, the property of John Jope Rogers, Esq., of Penrose. It is of a very rare type, and a similar example is shown in the *Prehistoric and Ethnographical Series of Photographs* issued by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum (Pl. 16, No. 3).

It would appear that of these celts discovered in this part of the county, there are two distinct varieties. The first, celts perfectly plain, as those of the Bochym find, and which would seem to have been attached to their handle (if at all) much in the same way that our country smiths still use their chisels for cutting hot iron, with a hazel or other stick twisted round the implement, and an iron ring or thong passed over the ends of the stick to make the grip firm.

The second type would be those celts having a hole in

the centre, through which the handle was passed, just as at present. A beautiful specimen of this kind, unfortunately broken in half, is in the possession of J. J. Rogers, Esq. It was found at Sithney, near Helston, and was exhibited by the writer at the March meeting of the Association, together with the other Cornish antiquities which form the subject of this paper.

Midway between these perfect specimens comes the incomplete and unfinished implement as described above, which would appear to have passed out of the maker's hands, and to have been lost, before it has been brought to a finish. We can make no other conjecture, for it would be beside all reason to suppose that the perforation was not intended to be complete. The cavity on either side, as at present, has no meaning ; but when the hole is carried through, its use is immediately apparent.

Of bronze implements I know of none recently found in this neighbourhood, with the exception of one, which was discovered, not, indeed, in Cury, but close to it, at Penvores, in the adjoining parish of Mawgan, where a labouring man in 1871, while working in a clay pit, three feet below the surface, came upon an almost unique specimen of a double-looped palstave of bronze, weighing fourteen ounces and a quarter, and in the very highest state of preservation. It was presented by Mr. Rogers to the British Museum, which also contains the only other known specimen found in England, and is figured in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries, Second Series, vol. v, No. vii, Plate 1, fig. 2.

The results of almost all recent explorations, as far as the *tumuli and sepulchral memorials* of West Cornwall are concerned, have recently been published by Mr. W. C. Borlase, the descendant of the great antiquarian, in his *Nenia Cornubia* ; and there he names the kistvaens of this immediate neighbourhood, few of which, if any, may be considered to have contained coins. The few coins which were shown by me as coming from the immediate vicinity, are unfortunately poor in preservation, and but the worst specimens,—the remnant of a large, and what, if it had fallen into good hands, must have been a most interesting find.

It is doubtful whether any part of England has yielded more varieties and numbers of ancient coins than Cornwall. The famous Carn-Bre, renowned for its temples or fortifica-

tions, and the numerous finds of implements and coins thereabouts (figured in Borlase's *Antiquities*, Pl. xxiii, p. 25), and supposed by him to be British imitations of the Greek coins of Philip; Leland's brass pot full of Roman money, found at Tredine (Treryn); and the Saxon coins from Cornwall, which form a part of the beautiful collection of Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq., of Menabilly,—are instances; while from time to time, in past years, within the memory of man, coins, singly or in small groups, have been picked up at various spots in the *Meneag* district; but of all, no record has been taken.

Of the various kinds of money, Roman is, perhaps, the most frequently found. Nor is this to be wondered at when it is remembered how very generally specimens of the Roman coinage are scattered over the sites of their stations, villages, and camps; while, as a rule, those discovered in such situations have been of the more common types, and much more worn than those which have been stumbled upon in hoards.

Here in Cornwall various speculations have been raised as to the use such quantities of Roman copper money could have served, whether it was a mercantile or military purpose that required it, peaceful barter at the mines and in the harbours, or the wages of the soldiers under arms for the protection or subjugation of the surrounding territory. Be it as it may, we have the record in Lysons' *Magna Britannia* (vol. iii, ccxxiv) and Borlase's *Antiquities* (p. 301) of constant finds of Roman coins in the very neighbourhood where, a century later, those in my possession were found. They both mention the discovery of "twenty-four gallons of Roman money, of the reign of Constantine, in a tenement called 'Condorah', on the Helford river; and in one of the creeks which run up into the parish of Constantine, on the other side of the river, were found, same date (1735), forty coins, including some of Domitian, Trajan, and Faustina junior, in brass."

In this exact spot, or very near to it, a labourer, in 1817, was ploughing. In the course of his day's work he turned up a flat stone with the plough, and disclosed a cavity containing an urn of common potter's ware. This he, after the wisdom of his sort, broke in pieces in order to examine its contents, when, lo! there fell out about two hundred

coins. These he brought into the town of Helston and sold ; and they were gradually dispersed by the buyer, some to one friend, some to another. Many of the best were given to the late Dr. Adam Clarke, and the few that remained (eight in all) came into my possession at the commencement of the present year. From the description given to me, which was fairly minute, they would appear to have been mostly first brass. The urn in which they were deposited was of course lost, its destruction by the hands of the ploughman being complete. "Chygarkie" (in Cornish a fortified house), the field in which they were lying, is only about two miles from Gear, which seems to have been a Roman station. This "Gear" is, no doubt, the original of *caer* (Cornish for "camp"), and is situated on one of the headmost creeks of the Helford river, easily accessible by the small ships of that period. The camp is in good preservation still, situated on a hill ; and there appear to be the remains of a covered way from it to the creek.

Adjacent to this is Caervallack (query, is this a corruption of *caer-vallum* ?), where there are traces of deep fosses and banks ; while in the neighbouring parish of St. Kevern, at a place called "Bahow", are some ancient graves, from which were taken relics decidedly pronounced by antiquaries to be Roman. There was, we know, a Roman road from *Durnovaria* (Dorchester), which, passing through *Moridunum* (Honiton or Seaton), and stretching its length through *Isca Dumnoniorum* (Exeter) to the rich mining district of the far west, penetrated to the very extremity of Cornwall. It was probably here, at Constantine then, on the Helford Haven, that the great eastern Roman road from Truro terminated.

There was a camp at Tre-Gear, in Bodmin parish, occupied, as recent discoveries prove, by the Romans during some period from Vespasian to Trajan ; and close to Cury we have also a Tre-Gear, and in its immediate vicinity a round field enclosed by high banks and ditch (very much like a Roman camp), outside which the land is more than commonly fertile.

Of the coins (eight in number) which I have from Chygarkie), none are in brilliant condition. I presume they are the poorest specimens of the whole find, some of the letters being quite illegible. They are as follow :

FIRST BRASS.

1. Vespasian, A.D. 69, 79. Corroded, but perfectly legible. Reads: *obv., (CAES. VE) SPASIANVS. AVG. ; rev., LIBERTAS PVBLIC(A).*
2. Antoninus Pius, A.D. 139-161. In fair preservation. *Obv., ANTONI-
NVS. AVG. PIVS. P. P. TR. P. COS. III. ; rev., S. ALVS.*
3. Aurelius (Marcus), afterwards Marcus Antoninus, A.D. 161-180. Fair preservation. *Obv., AVRELIVS. CAESAR. AVG. PII. F. ; rev., too
worn to be legible.*
4. Crispina, wife of Commodus, A.D. 177-183. Good preservation. *Obv.,
CRISPINA. AVGVSTA ; rev., female figure seated.*
5. One of the Julias. The portrait is most like that of Julia Domna.

THIRD BRASS.

1. Marius (Marcus Aurelius), the emperor for three days, A.D. 267. Poor. *Obv., IMP. C. M. AVR. MARIVS. AVG. ; rev., worn and indistinct.*
2. Constantine II, son of the first Constantine and Fausta, A.D. 316-340. *Obv., CONSTANTIN(VS) PO. II.*

BILLON.

1. Herennius Etruscus (Quintus), son of Decius, A.D. 251. *Obv., P.
ET (B) DECIVS. NOB. C.ES. ; rev., PIETAS. AVG.*

Perhaps the most ancient and at the same time the most interesting of the group of antiquities here described, is a *bead* which was found in the parish of Mawgain in *Meneage*, at no great distance from Chygarkie ("the fortified house"), where the coins just described were turned up in 1817. It is very similar, almost the exact counterpart of one which was found at Gilton in Kent; the only one of its kind among the numerous relics there dug up by Mr. Faussett, in 1760, and so beautifully figured in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale* (Plate v, fig. 2). It would seem to be composed of layers of coloured clays upon a hollow tube of glass. In the immediate centre of the bead its shape is roughly round, about seven-eighths to one inch in diameter; but at each end it is tapered off to a hexagon. The outer layer of colour is blue, which in turn is divided from a broad band of red by a thin circle of opaque white; and on the inner surface, again, is a white band which covers the tube by which the ornament is intended to be strung. It is unlike the famous productions of the island of Murano. Found among or close to Roman remains, the first thought is, can it be Roman? The corresponding one at Gilton was found in a grave. Here, in Mawgan, we have no such graves. Confidently pronounced by a very good judge to be Phœnician,

and certainly in make and shape altogether dissimilar to Roman or Saxon, I hesitate to found a theory upon the single specimen before me. It may be Phoenician or Druidical, or both, in its origin. In any case a shrewd guess may be given of its use as a personal ornament or a charm, probably the latter ; worn by the owner during life, and buried with him in the Kentish grave ; but lost on the Cornish moorland, to lie unnoticed through long periods of succeeding ages, and turned up at last by a rustic's boot in this nineteenth century of ours. However unlike the "*bedes*" of which our old poets, Chaucer and Spenser, sing, it may yet have served a kindred purpose. Chaucer tells of one maiden :

"A paire of *bedes* eko she bere
Upon a lace, all of white thread,
On which that sho her *bedes bede*",

while in the time of Herrick the mystic globules were potent against the enemy, be it temporal or spiritual ; and he says :

"Bring the holy water hither,
Let us wash and pray together.
When our *beads* are thus united,
Then the foe will fly affrighted."

If it be, as before hinted, that the Phœnicians in their visits to the Cassiterides and the adjacent country for tin, *did* sail up the Looe creek and Cobra river to the tin depôts at the foot of the Hellaz Hill, on the south side of Helston,—and to the east of that town, on the other border of the Lizard promontory, there is a creek (the Helford river) once, too, renowned for its stores of tin, on the shores of which we have at this day a Roman station with nearly all its parts exceedingly well preserved,—then the finding a bead of Phœnician work on the site of a Roman camp, and contiguous to Roman coins, will occasion no great difficulty. They are independent of each other, the one of far more ancient deposit than the other ; and what at first sight would appear to be unaccountably mysterious, really resolves itself into a confirmation and evidence of the truth of history ; that both the Phœnicians and the Romans visited the peninsula of *Danmonium*, perhaps for the very same purpose, viz., to prosecute the very profitable trade in the precious metal for which the whole of that region of *Magna Britannia* was famous. It is certainly not a little strange

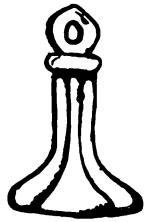
that so few Phœnician remains have been brought to light in a country which they visited so constantly and uninterruptedly. The statement of Richard of Cirencester that 1000 years B.C. is the date of their first visit, must be taken *cum grano salis*; but at any rate, having regard to the commercial intercourse of the Phœnician merchants with the *then* inhabitants of Western Britain, it is remarkable, not that their influence should have extended even to the language of the Danmonii (as I cannot but think is evident, though I know still a contested point), but that there should be so few substantial and tangible memorials of these early colonists of our Cornubian shores.

Respecting the matrix of the antique Christian seal of which a woodcut is here given, there is, I fear, little to be said.

Its chief curiosity is the position and surroundings in the place of its discovery,—a rugged and wild cliff-side on the Cornish coast. It is formed of bronze, and is of very rude and rough workmanship, probably of early fifteenth century date, though it may be late fourteenth century. It has in the centre a cross standing on an apex formed by two lines, with the letters IHC at the base. Round the seal are the words VANTIES TOI; and the legend and monogram together will read, I.H.C. VANGIES TOI (Jesus, avenge thyself). It was picked up in 1871 by Mr. J. Thomas, a farmer in Mullyon, from whom I received it.

As he was one day on the cliffs examining his sheep-flock, a sharp, short shower, such as are common in Cornwall, compelled him to take shelter under a huge boulder or rock in the middle of the down; and standing thus amid the falling rain, he saw what appeared at first a small lump of metal at his feet. On picking it up, however, he discovered some of the letters which, as we see, form the legend. It appears to be the seal of a private individual, for there are many such of similar character, but different legends, in the collection of the British Museum. The bare hill on which it had lain so long gives us no assistance in discovering to whom it could have belonged, or the “*how and why*” it found its way to its rocky hiding-place.

There is, indeed, another relic of the Christian faith, which



has stood from time immemorial near to the spot, viz., a way-side Latin cross, which is still to be seen close to the site of an ancient chapel; to which, doubtless, in bygone days, it was the directing post and guide.¹

Whether, however, this cross, the chapel at Trenance, and another at Clahar, close to the Bochym mentioned heretofore, have any connexion with the seal in question, must remain still a mystery, for of them in their ancient condition there is no record. The fact remains that they all bear upon and around them the emblems of the ancient faith, of which they are at once the memorials and witnesses.

I could have wished to make this paper more worthy the subject before us, but writing away from all the helps that a public or even a good private library would afford, and with scarcely any works of reference to aid me, it must needs be a bare account of the relics of ancient Cornwall that I can offer. In this far-off land (*West Barbary*, as it is sometimes facetiously called) many a long Cornish mile separates the inquirer from the book or museum he would fain consult. Such as it is, however, this paper will serve the one purpose of preserving a record of the discovery of one more group of memorials of the Cornish past from oblivion; and if it creates a desire for research, and a fresh interest in the Cornubian promontory (the antiquarian treasures of which are by no means fully developed), it will not have been penned in vain.

¹ This cross, which is sculptured on both sides, is figured in J. T. Blight's *Ancient Crosses and other Antiquities of Cornwall*, Plate 48 in the editions 4to, Penzance, 1856, and vol. ii, 1858.

ON DOCUMENTS IN THE POSSESSION OF
LORD WROTTESLEY OF WROTTESLEY
HALL, STAFFORDSHIRE.

BY W. DE G. BIRCH, ESQ., F.R.S.L., HON. PALÆOGRAPHER.

Two hundred years ago, England experienced a disaster which may be considered almost without a parallel in the history of archæological science, being overrun by a horde of Puritans who took especial delight in destroying everything that had the semblance of worth, beauty, or interest. Hence it is that, where other countries have so many objects of interest to us and other Associations, who have particularly confided to their keeping the history of definite and the elucidation of indefinite antiquities, we as a nation possess, comparatively speaking, so few and widely spread specimens of the handiwork of our forefathers. The circumstances attending the ruthless destruction of manuscripts, prepared in former days as labours of love and devotion, cause such pain and horror to our minds to-day, that if we appear to any one to set too great a store upon the yet remaining specimens of such things, or to value them as we frequently do beyond their weight in gold, I think, at least, no one will withhold their pardon from us. If time permitted me, I could tell you how it is that our national libraries show to this day empty shelves, which should have been—and we have but to thank, nay rather to blame, the Reformers and the Roundheads that they are not—full to overflowing with manuscripts which would have thrown the clear light of noonday upon archæological points, now, alas! involved in hopeless obscurity. I could tell you how the beautiful miniatures and illuminations in the library at Durham Cathedral were cut from priceless manuscripts by a nursemaid of one of the members of the chapter to amuse some fractious children. How all around us the Service books of the churches, Bibles, Antiphonars, Missals, Manuals, Legends of Saints, and Martyrologies, were ruthlessly defaced and abolished. How at Malmesbury Abbey, Wiltshire, enough vellum manuscripts were carted away from the library to serve the

glovers of the town for ten years, on which occasion, as an antiquary quaintly observed, gloves were wrapped up in many a goodly piece of antiquity. How at Worcester in 1646 the Earl of Essex's army, among other disgraceful atrocities, rifled the library, tore into pieces the Bibles and service-books, "and putting the surplices upon the dragoons, rode about the streets of the town with them." At Peterborough, about the same time, not only were the manuscripts utterly dispersed and lost, but the library buildings were pulled down and sold for old materials. At Winchester, the troopers rode away clad in vestments of the cathedral, and holding the church books in one hand, and broken organ pipes in the other, after perpetrating one of the most disgraceful acts of vandalism and profanity that can be possibly conceived. At Exeter, in the spirit of unbridled savagery, the books and manuscripts were heaped upon the high altar and burned. At Chichester, the cathedral was strewn knee-deep with scattered fragments of manuscripts and books. Only forty years ago, rioters at Bristol threw the chapter library into the river Avon or the fire. But these and innumerable other instances must be allowed to plead their eloquent tale to us and posterity, and teach us to guard with jealous hand the little yet remaining, which must have been preserved by little short of miraculous intervention.

One of the great values to be attached to ecclesiastical and monastic documents is that they contained notices of national events not to be found in other repertories. Every monastery of any standing compiled, for the delectation of its own members, chronicles and annals, for the most part selected from well-known types of histories, but at the same time they introduced notices of their own private history, accounts of the building of edifices, appointments and deaths of their officers, paragraphs of local occurrences, and a quantity of interesting information, which was to be found in no other record; and so universally was this custom acknowledged, that on the occasion of any event of transcendent importance taking place, the king commanded copies of the document describing the affair to be transmitted to the larger monasteries, with orders that the text of the record should be entered into the chronicle appertaining to the house itself. Of this I find in Lord Wrottesley's collection a very notable instance, where, in a roll which I have no

hesitation in ascribing to the authorship of a literary member of the Abbey of Burton-on-Trent in Staffordshire, the text of the royal letter, containing a statement of the settlement of Scottish affairs in the troubled times of Edward I, has been inserted by the scribe upon the back of what really is a synopsis of British history from the earliest period to the last decade of the thirteenth century. The curious point about this is, not that this unique morsel of history should be written where it is, but that, not content with the gist of the transaction, the method of its acquisition should be still preserved, through the thoughtfulness of the scribe, in so eminently unequivocal a manner.

When we consider the great and increasing rarity of such documents as these, so kindly and so liberally put before us on this occasion; when we call to mind that every year and every day is narrowing the number of such evidences of antiquity, I am sure you will join with me in according the thanks of the Association to their present owner, Lord Wrottesley of Wrottesley Park, whose liberality in throwing open literary treasures, of which I have selected several specimens, cannot be too highly commended; and whose example in this respect I feel confident will bear good fruit when you see the collected objects of antiquarian interest gathered together from all parts of the county for your gratification and our exercitation. These documents are those of most interest which in the limited space of time at the disposal of the Association I was able to select from the whole collection. Fortunately for us the hall was honoured with a visit by Mr. Alfred Horwood, when engaged in preparing the "Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts," published as a Parliamentary Blue Book, in 1871. And at page 46 of that work an account of what this gentleman considered remarkable in the series is given. From the cursory inspection that I was able to make, and from the statement of Mr. Horwood, it is evident that the Wrottesley manuscripts are exceedingly valuable, not only as title deeds of a private and so far circumscribed importance, but as containing much that would cast additional light upon the history, manners, and customs of England during a very extended period. I do not intend here to take any but this fleeting notice of the mass of materials for the history of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries contained in the various

letters which so abound in the collection, because they are of such a nature as to claim a historical rather than an archæological or palæographical interest, and must needs be left to future hands more used to their manipulation. It is to be hoped that the great care now taken in their preservation will ever be extended to them ; a care which contrasts favourably with the destructive treatment of what may in some way be considered national property, in so far that their loss would be a national and irremediable calamity, which I have more than once witnessed in quarters where just the opposite would be expected.

I will here pass on to the consideration of the selected documents, which as far as I can I shall treat in order of chronology, giving the texts of some of those most interesting to the palæographer.

I. A copy, made in the time of Henry VI, or thereabouts, of a deed purporting to be dated in 1088, whereby Robert de Stafford, an ancient member of the house of Wrottesley, grants a certain land called "Wroteslea and Lemintona" to the Abbey of Evesham in frank-almoigne, or as a free alms-giving. In consideration of this he was probably admitted into the monastery as a monk, for the deed goes on to say, "I, Robert, having been made a monk in my infirmity, in the same monastery have confirmed this gift by the sign of the cross with my own hand." Then follows his cross or mark, as well as those of his son Nicholas, and other witnesses. The grantor also states that he has done this at the order of Peter, Bishop of Chester, as a work of penance or piety, under pain of being condemned to everlasting perdition. Now there are several very remarkable points about this charter of donation which I must confess I do not like, and which seem to me to point to the fact that the venerable monks of Evesham, having persuaded the grantor to join their community, when he was on his death-bed as they thought, fabricated this deed in order to get possession of the estate. The grounds on which I found my opinion adverse to the strictly genuine nature of this document are these—Firstly, the grammatical structure of the sentences is very defective. In the first line we have *providens* joined with two separate form of speech, a dative *anima*, and a preposition *pro anima*, and again in the second line *pro conjugi mea* is put by mistake for *pro anima conjugis*

mæc; the second line has *dedi in monasterio*, which no one with the least knowledge of Latin would be likely to write for *dedi monasterio*. The expression *in sancto monasterio Eveshamio* in the second line is an awkward expression, and not likely to be the phrase employed at that period; it would have been *in monasterio Sanctæ Mariæ de Evesham*. Lemintona is also an error for Leuintona in line two. In line nine *et omnes* has been written in twice over. So much for its value as a copy. But the original deed itself, if we allow that these errors I have enumerated did not exist in it, presents nevertheless some curious points which cannot be explained to my mind in any other way than that, as is usually the case, in attempting to make the best of it, the scribe overreached himself. The grantor also states that he has done this at the order of Peter, Bishop of Chester, "qui michi hoc pro penitencia injunxit et omnes et omnes destructores harum donacionum perpetuo anathemate dampnavit." Now, unfortunately for this deed, Peter, Bishop of Lichfield, who was the first bishop styled of Chester, died in 1085, three years before the date of the deed, the contraveners of which he is here stated to consign to everlasting perdition. The boundaries are thus given for Wrottesley (those of Levinton being omitted): Hec terra Wrottesleia habet duas hidias, hiis terminis circumcincta est [note the want of a conjunction before ~~et~~is] Spryncwall, in Smeleheth, of Smeleheth in Dersprynge, of Dersprynch in Caldewelle, etc. of mychelee este into Spryncwall, et nota ubi ista proposio (*sic*) of dicitur, nichill aliud significat nisi fro as fro Spryncwall to Smeleheth . . . et sic de aliis et C'.

Now any one who will take the trouble to examine the particular formulæ in use at this period for describing the boundaries of estates (and there are many examples in many books, and notably so in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Evi Saxonici*, a collection of documents of this nature issued at various times during the Saxon period), will be at once struck with the peculiar difference which this document bears to any he will so find, and I venture to affirm that no single instance of such a philological statement that of signifies *fro* or *from* is to be met with in any document of this or any other period. In fact it would be as absurd as if a conveyancer's clerk of the present day were to treat us to the explanations of technical terms as they occurred

in the body of a deed he was in the act of engrossing. The text of the charter is as follows :—

“ Anno ab incarnatione m° lxxxvij° ego Robertus de Stafford providens anime mee, necnon et pro anima domini mei Willemi magni Regis Anglorum nec minus et pro conjugi mea & filio meo Nicholao, quandam terram que vocatur Wrotteslea & lemintona dedi in sc'o monasterio Eveshamio in manu dompni Walteri abbatis fidelis amici mei. Dedi eciam prefatam terram cum silvis et pratis et pascuis quæ ad eam jure pertinent. Ita ut ecclesia semper possideat eam libere in elemosinam et victum fratrum et ut nullus adversarius ab ea anferre presumat. Quod si aliquis inimicus hanc meam elemosinam quam pro remissione peccatorum meorum et pro salute animæ meæ deo contuli violare presumpserit ab hereditate dei alienatus et infernum dampnatus sit. Anno supradicto dedi eciam corpus meum post mortem eidem sancto monasterio coniunx mea similiter suum dedit et Nicholaus filius meus concessit suum et omnes mei barones similiter se dederunt et sacramento confirmaveru[n]t quod hoc firmiter tenerent. Has donaciones et conventiones feci consilio et assensu et testimonio Petri Cestrensis episcopi qui michi hoc pro penitencia iniunxit et omnes et omnes destructores harum donacionum perpetuo anathemate dampnavit. Ego Robertus monachus factus in infirmitate mea in eodem monasterio hanc donacionem propria manu signo crucis confirmavi + Ego Nicholaus filius eorum confirmavi signo + Ego Warinus malecorne concessi + Ego brien concessi + Ego Garnegode concessi + hec terra Wrotteslea habet duas hidias hiis terminis circumdata est Spryncwalle in Smeleheth of Smeleheth in dersprynge of dersprynch in Caldwelle of Caldwelle in Michelmore of Michelmore in hyndewelle of hyndewelle in Cranemore of Cranemore in redewyth of redewy whole more of le more in little leie of litley in Wulsey of Wolsey in Stanewelle of Stanywalle in Edulfeswey of Edulfeswey in Hawkewelle of haukewelle in Cumbewelle of Cumbewelle in Whytesyche of Whytesyche in Michelee of Mychelee este into Spryncwall et nota ubi ista proposio (*sic*) of dicitur nichill' aliud significat. nisi fro. as fro Spryncwalle to Smeleheth fro Deffolenc to Caldwell et sic de aliis et cetera.”

II. A copy of the deed by which Robert de Stafford and his son and heir Robert confirm the grant of the above-named lands by his grandfather, Robert, and father Nicholas to the monks of Evesham. On the same parchment is a copy of the final concord or agreement taken in the first year of John (1199) at the Court of King's Bench, Westminster, whereby Henry Bagot and his wife Milicent, daughter and presumably sole heir of the above Robert de Stafford, acknowledges the title of Evesham Abbey to the lands of Wrotteslea and Levintona.

“ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus de Stafford et Robertus filius mens et heres concessimus et confirmavimus et presenti scripto atque sigillo roboravimus donaciones terrarum illarum scilicet Wrottesle et Levinton quas Robertus avus meus contulit et pater mens

Nicholans concessit ecclesiæ de Evesham et monachis ibidem deo servientibus ut prenominata ecclesia terras illas predictas habeat et possideat in puram atque perpetuam elemosinam atque imperpetuum teneant (*sic*) predicta ecclesia predictas terras liberas et quietas et solutas ab omni exactione et seculari servicio tam Regio quam ad me et heredes meos pertinente in silvis in pratis et in omnibus aysiamentis quæ ad predictas villas pertinent, hiis testibus etc."

"Hec est finalis concordia facta in curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium die martis proximo post festum sancti Leonardi anno regni Regis Johannis primo coram domino Galfrido filio Petri Comite Essexie Willelmo de Warranne Ricardo de herieth Simone de Pateshull Johanne de Glestliq magistro Thoma de Husseluru Justiciariis domini Regis et aliis fidelibus domini regis ibidem tunc presentibus, inter Rogerum Abbatem de Evesham petentem per Willelum de Capis quem idem Abbas attornavit loco suo in predicta curia ad recipiendum Cyrographum suum et Henricum Bagot et Milcent uxorem ejus per Radulfum de Duluerne quem ijdem Henricus et Milcent attornaverunt loco suo in predicta curia ad recipiendum Cyrographum suum de placito Waranthizationis cartæ quæ fuit predicti Roberti de Stafford patris predictæ Milcent de terra de Wrothesle et Leuinton cum pertinentiis, Vnde placitum fuit inter eos in predicta curia scilicet quod prefati Henricus et Milcent cognoverunt prædictam cartam esse predicti Roberti de Stafford et quietam clamaverunt donacionem predicti Roberti de terra de Wrothesle et leuinton prefato Abbatii de Evesham et ejus successoribus imperpetuum. Pro hac autem quietaclamancia et finali concordia dedit prefatus Abbas eisdem Henrico et Milcent uxori ejus quadraginta solidos sterlingorum."

III. A very beautiful and genuine deed of the early twelfth century, whereby the abbot *A(dam)* and convent of Evesham grant to Simon, son of William de Coctona and his heirs, Wrotteslegia and Liuintona, at a yearly rent of two marks in exchange for Mortuna, Nortuna, Hantun, and a *mai-siagum* de Evesham. The witnesses to this deed are for the most part members of the present family of Wrottesley, Philippo dapifero, Pagano clericu, Willelmo de...ue (erasure) Hingeram de humet, Jordano f're suo, Barthram de uerdun, Alexandro de Claverlan, Rodberto pincerna, Waltero bret, Gwiot de uerdun, Rad' de Meilnil, Roelend de uerdum. The seals of the abbot and abbey are entirely gone, one label alone remaining to point the place. The following is the text of this document :—

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego A. Abbas et conventus Eveshamensis ecclesiæ concessimus in feudum et hereditatem Simoni filio Willelmi de Coctuna et heredibus suis Wrotteslegiam, et Liuintonam pro duabus marcis ut eas teneat reddendo mihi pro omnibus serviciis singulis annis unam marcham in annuntiatione beate Marie, et aliam in nativitate beate Marie, liberas et quietas ab omni servitio, salvo servitio regis et salva ipsi Willelmo de Liuintona tenuria sua, ita

quidem ut simoni faciat servitium quod consuevit facere abbati et ecclesie. Pro hac concessione quam fecimus ei ipse Simon clamavit quietam omnem querelam et calumpniā de se et de omnibus heredibus suis in perpetuum de mortuna et de terra de nortuna, et de terra de Hamtun et de illo maisiagio de Evesham, et quod defendet easdem terras contra omnes calumpniatores. Qui si ab hac defensione quoque modo defecerit recipiat abbas et ecclesia terras predictas liberas et teneat eas semper absque omni reclamacione Simonis et omnium suorum. Si post obitum ipsius Simonis mota fuerit querela de supradictis terris adversus ecclesiam heredes ipsius Simonis stabunt in defensione ista pro ecclesia in loco patris sui, et si defecerint recipiat ecclesia terras suas liberas et quietas ab omni Calumpnia ipsorum. His testibus, Philippo dapifero, Pagano clero, Willelmo de...ue Hingeram de Hum' (Humet), Jordano fratre suo, Barthram de Verdum, Alexandro de Claverla, Roderto Pincerna, Waltero Bret, Gwiot de Verdun, Radulpho de Meilnil, Roelend de Verdun. The seal is wanting.

On dors.—III. Wrottesley from the Abbott of Evesham sans date.

16. The grant of Wy. to Simon de Coctun on condition to surrender Hantn. Norton, etc.

IV. An early twelfth century deed of great beauty, whereby Bernardus filius Gile de Tresel, with consent of his wife Letitia, grants land at Wdeforde, "que pertinet ad ecclesiam de Tresel," to Dudele priory (St. James) for 12d. annual rent. The witnesses are Alured de Canot, Roger de Nordfeld, Alexander de Brome, Walter de Womborne, Gilbert de Ouerton, Walter his son, Roger de Seisdune, John de Coftun and others.

The seal label remains, but the seal is entirely lost.

V. Richard, son of William, grants to Allen, son of Walter de Ouerton, Womburne in free marriage with his daughter Matildis, at a yearly rent of six marks.

Witnesses, Thomas, son of Alan, William Brun, Richard de Ombreslege, Thomas de Bosco, Robert de Esenington, William, son of Alan, Ralph Russel, and William de Littel, "qui hanc kartam fecit," a curious instance, not without parallel, of the scribe who wrote out the charter, himself attesting the due delivery of it.

The seal is remaining, but the lower portion broken away; it is the impression of an oval gem, undoubtedly *antique*, representing two full length figures. This gem has been set in silver, the legend being arranged upon the enlarged face so that the central portion containing the gem was raised about an eighth of an inch, dark green wax, above the other portion. The legend is—

+ SIGILLVM.....WILELMI.

This deed may be referred to the time of King John.

vi. William, Lord of Perton, confirms to William de Benetlega, together with his daughter Ysabella in free marriage, sundry rents in Tressel. It may be dated about the close of the reign of Henry III. The seal is in green wax. Oval, and bears a broad arrow with the legend

+ s' WILLELMI DE PERTO'.

vii. Another deed of the same period and very similar handwriting. Lord William de Overton confirms to Lord Walter Russel, Chaplain "Beatæ Mariæ de Alvitelewe," "Aliciam filiam Annæ de Penne, condam nativam meam," in frank-almoigne with her "tota sequela." There is no seal remaining to this document.

viii. Confirmation by Hugo de Wrottesley, Miles, Lord of Wrottesleye, to his consanguineus or cousin William de Wrottesley and to William de Holbarwe the Manor of Wrottesley to be held of the chief lord of the fee.

Among the witnesses occur the names of John Giffard, Miles. Dated on the feast of St. Ambrose, 11th year of Edward III (1338). The seal bears *couché* a shield of the older arms of the family of Wrottesley, namely, *fretty*. Crest, on a helmet and lambrequin, out of a ducal coronet, a tiger's or boar's head.

Legend —s'HVGONIS DE WROTTISLEYA.

The seal is of red wax, and finely preserved.

ix. Confirmation from the same lord, Hugh de Wrottesley, Chyualer, to Richard Leuesone de Woluernehampton, Robert de Barnhurst, Capellano, and Will. de la Lone de Hamptone, the Manor of Wrotteslye, and other holdings, dated on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, 23 Ed. III (1350). The seal is in green wax, within a carved quarterfoil a shield of arms of Wrottesley as at present used *couché*. Three piles and a canton erm. Crest, a demi boar with ducal coronet, between the letters H. R. The legend is

s'HVGONIS DE WROTTVSLEY.

x. The three parties above mentioned regrant the same to the same Hugh de Wrottesley with remainder to his heirs, being in fact the entail. The same date.

The first seal is lost, but the second is a love seal, bearing a male and female bust between a trefoiled tree.

FAVS AMIE SAI[T] CHONI.
Fausse amie soit honie.

The third seal bears on a shield a lion's face between three quatrefoils. Legend

+ S' WILL'I DA WOLVERNEHAMTON'. Green wax.

xi. Hugh de Wrottesley, Knt., grants the Manor of Wrottesley to Henry de Tynmore, Parson of Elleford, and to Henry de Oldefalynch, chaplain. Dat. 47 Edward III, Friday before the Feast of the Holy Cross (1374).

The seal bears a shield of arms on a guige, with helmet and crest on the right, all within a carved ornament. The legend is SIGILLVM HVGONIS DE WROTTVSLE, and is of red wax, faded, edge chipped.

xii. A letter from the Commissary of Sir John Notyngham, Dean of the King's Chapel of Tetenhale, to the chaplains of Tetenhale and Codeshale, ordering them to excommunicate three persons for stealing wheat and beans out of their neighbour's barn or field, unless they give satisfaction and after three summonses. The excommunication is to be accompanied with the ringing of bells, lighted candles, and crosses and banners carried in the hands of those accompanying the priest.

The document is dated at Wolvernehampton A.D. 1387.
No seal.

The text of this interesting document is as follows:—

Commissarius venerabilis viri domini Johannis Notyngham, Decani Capelle regis de Tetenhale, capellani parochiarum de Tetenhale et Codeshale, salutem in auctore salutis. Querelam Willelmi Colettes de Brydbroke, Johannis filii ejus et Margerie filii ejusdem gravem recepimus, continentem quod quidem iniquitatis filii quorum nomina penitus ignorantur, nequierer et maliciose diffamaverunt predictum Willemum, Johannem et Margeriam, apud bonos et graves, quod dicti Willelmus, Johannes et Margeria asportaverunt seu alienaverunt undecim garbas frumenti et sex garbas fabarum a grangia vel campo Ade Taylour vicini eorum, pre et contra voluntatem ejusdem. Quocirca vobis mandamus virtudie obediencie firmiter injungentes, quatinus omnes et singulos hujusmodi defamatores post ternam monitionem a die receptionis presencium usque in xv dies ne forte de hujusmodi crimine satisficerint, excommunicetis eos omnes et singulos hujusmodi defamatores, pulsatis campanis candelis accensis et extinctis, crucibus et vexillis in manibus erectis, non cessantes in premissis donec aliud a nobis habueritis mandatum citantes nichilominus in premissis traditores quod compereant coram nobis in ecclesia de Tetenhale ad prox-

imum capitulum sequens super hiis que dicti Johannes, Willelmus et Margeria contra eos legittime propoundere voluerint, facturi et recepturi quod justicia suadebit. In cuius rei testimonium presens sigillum officii nostri presentibus est appensum. Datum apud Wolvernehampton die Mercurii proxima post festum Sancti Martini Episcopi et confessoris, anno domini Millesimo CCC^o. lxxx^{mo} viij^o.

On dors.—Excommunicatio.

1387. For takeing wheate and fitches out of Adam Taylors barne or the field.

(3) Decree of excommunication for stealing wheat and beans.

xiii. Statutes of the Order of the Garter, probably from H. de Wrotteslye, nineteenth founder of the Order. A finely written roll on two membranes of vellum, with label of the seal remaining.

Sir Hugh de Wrottesley died in 1380-1. The present Lord Wrottesley is, I believe, fourteenth in lineal descent from, and heir male of the body of the gallant founder. The document is dated in the 23rd year of Edward III, (1350). [The writing appears a little later than this date, and I am inclined to place it about 1400.]

xiv. A historical roll nearly 20 feet long. It contains the history of Britain, preceded by a tabular conspectus of the Heptarchy, and portions of it are upon the history of the British kings. The history of the kings ends properly at Edward I, but has been carried on to later times by other hands. On the back of this there is written an order from King Edward I to the abbot of the convent at Burton-on-Trent, containing the following statement:—"We therefore order you that you cause to be entered in your chronicles, to the perpetual remembrance of the affair, the submission of the Scottish competitors to the King." Dated at Westminster the 9th of July, in the nineteenth year of the reign of Edward I. It is a copy of the deed whereby all the competitors, including Baliol, Patrick of Dunbar, William de Rous, and many others, submitted their claims to the king, and a most important document; for in it is copied not only the instruction of the king, but also his order to keep it. It is beautifully written down to nearly the end in the same handwriting, but it appears as if at the death of Edward I some other person continued the manuscript a little further.

xv. The next document is a deed of the reign of Edward I,—a pedigree of the kings up to that time. It is a finely written deed, and dated from Winchester, the 15th of October, in the twenty-third year of King Edward's

reign. Next comes a deed of Edward III, dated from Calais, when he was fighting the French there. By this deed Hugh Wrottesley undertook to keep the peace with some people against whom he had declared war. Then there is a seal of one of the Henrys, but it is impossible to say to which it belonged, because all use the same seal, and they all call themselves "King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland." The date is in the fourth year of the king's reign; but that is of no value, because all reigned more than four years. Another seal of Henry VIII in the collection is interesting as a specimen of the last remnant of Gothic architecture in England, showing exactly the period when Gothic architecture ceased to be part of the culture of England. It is dated the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VIII, 1538. Just about that period Gothic architecture fell, and was succeeded by the Italian style. Another seal is attached to a document of the date of Edward VI, appointing Walter Wrottesley to be High Sheriff of Staffordshire, dated in the first year of the king's reign, 1547. The seal does not represent anything of any very great beauty, for that was a wretched period for art of all kinds. Next comes a deed of great interest, especially to people in this neighbourhood. It is a deed for appointing an attorney by the Pendrel family to receive the annuity which Charles II had conferred on them for their well known services to him in connection with Boscobel and the Royal Oak. The deed bears the signature of Mary Pendrel, and the initials of William, John, Humphrey, and George Pendrel. Attached to it is a schedule of the different places in the immediate vicinity, which had to pay the proportions of the annuity. The next deed is of a very early date, and few specimens are now existing. It is of the reign of Henry I, somewhere between 1100 and 1135, beautifully written on a piece of vellum, which is not of a rectangular shape, as most of them are; this is a curious fact, but not at all unique, for there are deeds written on almost triangular pieces of vellum.

xvi. The next deed is also a very ancient one. It contains the attesting name, as a witness, of Lord Gervais Pagnell, who held land not only in Staffordshire, but also as far as Cambridge, Lincolnshire, and Norfolk. He was a very great baron, and always very close to the hand of the King. The following is the text:—

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus filius Widonis de Offini dedi et concessi pro anima patris mei et matris mee, et pro anima mea et uxoris mee Julianae et heredum meorum terram juxta culturam de Wdeforda a cornu culture sicut semita vadit usque ad fossam, et longitudinem illius terre usque ad amnem de tresel, cum prato, libere et quiete de omni servicio, deo et Sancto Jacobo de Duddeleia et monachis ibidem deo servientibus, et hoc consensu uxoris mee Julianae, et Ricardi heredis mei et aliorum filorum meorum. His testibus domino Gervasio pag', Isabel comitissa, Alano dapifero, Roberto pag' filii Gervasii paganelli, Rogerio de Haggli', Hugone hai, Johanne le Blunt, Willelmo le Brun, Rolanno, Willelmo Capellano de Wounburna, Roberto de Sancto Thoma, Waltero diacono, et multis aliis.

The seal is wanting.

Endorsed.—Carta Willelmi filii Widonis de terra juxta culturam de Wdeford.

(3) Two gifts in free alms for obits to Dudley Monastery of lands near Woodford.

xvii. This following document relating to the church of Wolverhampton is interesting, and is here given at full length for the first time:—

Notum sit omnibus presens scriptum visuris vel audituris quod ego Egidius de Erdington decanus de Wluernehamptone dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi deo et ecclesie de Wluernehamptona ad sustentacionem unius capellani in perpetuum in predicta ecclesia divina celebraturi pro anima mea et animabus patris mei matris mee antecessorum et successorum meorum unum molendinum cum pertinenciis In Codeshale cum vivario et cum quadam terra Juxta predictum vivarium jacente. Et unam culturam terre que fuit quondam Alani le Harpur In Wluernehamptone, et unam placeam vasti in eadem villa que jacet juxta chiminum quo Itur de villa de Gosebroke versus Essingtonem et quinque solidatas redditus percipiendas per manus Nicholai Le Lung et heredum suorum de tenemento quod Idem Nicholaus de me tenuit In Rodestone, et quinque solidatas redditus percipiendas per manus Johannis le Cupere et heredum suorum de tenemento quod Idem Johannes de me tenuit In Honesworthe et tres solidatas redditus percipiendas per manus Radulphi de Wavere et heredum suorum de tenemento quod Idem Radulphus de me tenuit In Wavere cum releviis Heriettis Wardis et omnimodis commodis que, ratione tenementorum que predicti Nicholaus, Johannes, et Radulphus, de me tenuerunt, accidere potuerunt. Habendum et tenendum capellanis successive predictum officium facturis in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam quiete ab omni seculari servicio excepto servicio pro predictis molendino et vivario debito per eosdem capellanos faciendo et reddendo per annum domino de Honesworthe qui pro tempore fuerit sex denarios pro predicto redditu de Honesworthe et de Wavere. Erit autem predictus capellanus in predicta ecclesia perpetuus nisi propter aliquod enorme delictum sentencialiter fuerit privatus. Tunc enim loco ipsius alius Idoneus capellanus substituatur. Cum vero per mortem vel privacionem alicujus capellani dictum officium vacare contigerit, heredes mei alium Idoneum capellanum Decano de Wluernehamptone vel ejusdem procuratori vel canonicis ibidem pro tempore

residentibus infra mensem a tempore vacacionis computatum presentabunt, qui statim in pleno capitulo corporale sacramentum prestabit quod canonicis horis intererit et quod predictum officium mortuorum fideliter et plene exequetur. Et si heredes mei infra mensem id non fecerint, tunc ea vice presentacionem suam amittant et ad Decanum loci vel ejus procuratorem libera potestas devolvatur alium idoneum capellatum ad predictum officium assignare et instituere Jure presentandi imposterum heredibus meis nicholominus reservato. Nec licebit processu temporis decano loci vel canonicis officium predicti capellani in alios usus assignare vel mutare quam ad predictum servicium mortuorum ut predictum est. Ego quidem Egidius et heredes mei omnia predicta tementa [tenementa] decano et capitulo de Wlvernehamptone et ecclesie sue de Wluernehamptone ad sustentacionem predicti capellani imperpetuum Warantizabimus, acquietabimus et defendemus. In cuius rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Capitulum quidem meum de Wluernehamptone omnibus et singulis articulis in presenti scripto contentis assensum prebuit et favorem. In cuius rei testimonium commune sigillum predicti capitulo presenti scripto apponi procuravi. Hiis testibus Willelmo de Benetleghe, Clemente de Wluernehampton, Gervasio de eadem, Nicholao de eadem, clero, Roberto de Shakelstone, Johanne de Preeres, Radulpho de Hengeham, Jordano de Hengeham, et aliis.

A bag containing the fragments of a seal remains attached.

On dors.—of honnysworth, sans date.

Giles of Erdynton deane of Wolverhampton his donacion for maintenance of a chapleyn in the church of Wolverhampton.

XVIII. The next and concluding charter is given *in extenso*, and details the circumstances connected with the foundation of St. Leonard's chantry at Bilstone:—

Noverint universi per presentes me Thomam Erdyngtone militem fundatorem Cantarie perpetue Sancti Leonardi in capella sancti Leonardi de Bilstone in Comitatu Staffordie vocate Erdyngtones chaunteri ordinasse, constituisse et in loco meo posuisse dilectum michi in Christo Thomam Holdone meum verum et legitimum attornatum ad deliberandum pro me et nomine meo Thome Hecok perpetuo capellano Cantarie predicte plenam et pacificam seisinam ac possessionem de et in uno mesuagio et quinque shopis invicem situatis in Hampton, quadraginta acris terre et sex acris prati in Bilstone predicta, viginti quatuor acris terre et decem acris in Hampton predicta, ac eciam de et in decem acris terre in Coddesale et tribus acris terre in Bradley, ac eciam de et in quinque solidatis redditus in honestorthe in Comitatu Staffordie, ac quinque solidatis redditus in Duddestone, et tribus solidatis redditus in Watermerstone in comitatu Warwici, secundum vim formam et effectum cuiusdam carte mee prefato capellano inde confecte. Ratum et gratum habiturus quicquid predictus attornatus meus de et in premisis pro me et nomine meo fecerit per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti scripto meo sigillum meum ad arma apposui. Datum ultimo die Augusti anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum tricesimo sexto. Seal wanting.

Endorsed 31 Aug. 36 H. 6. ultimum Augusti Thomas Hecocke chauntry preist of Bilston possessed of a mess' and 5 shops togeather

in Hampton, 40 acres of land, 6 acres of meadow in Bilston, 24 acres and 10 acres of land in Hampton, 10 acres of land in Codsalle, 3 acres in Bradley, 5s. rent in Honesworth, com' Staff', 5s. rent in Duddleston, and 3s. rent in Watermerston com' war'.

The following notes on Wrottesley deeds that were exhibited before the congress afford additional information upon some of the points of genealogy and family history which the deeds embrace.

1. The grant by Robert of Stafford of Wrottesley and Levinton is in free alms to Walter, the abbot and monastery of Evesham. This deed is mentioned by the Historical MS. Commission. It is an ancient copy, forming part of the anterior title of the manors before they came into the possession of the present family of Wrottesley. This deed, together with the confirmation of the grant by Robert de Stafford in the reign of Henry II and the fine of 1 John levied between the monastery on one side, and Milicent the heiress of the Staffords and her husband Henry Bagot on the other, was obtained from the Chancery of the monastery in the reign of Richard II, when disputes arose respecting the custody of the heir of Sir Hugh Wrottesley, K.G., a minor, his uncle, Sir Thomas Arderne, having "heredem injuste rapuit et evasit," according to an injunction now at Wrottesley. The point at dispute was whether the manor was held by knights' service or in soccage; the abbot claimed the former, which gave him the custody and marriage of the heir. The relatives of the heir asserted the latter claim, and Sir Thomas de Arderne, after the death of the mother Isabella, widow of Sir Hugh Wrottesley, claimed to be guardian in soccage, and had run away with the heir. It was subsequently decided that the manor was held by knights' service.

The deed of Robert de Stafford is an interesting specimen of the superstitions of the age, and describes him as shown a monk of Evesham in his last sickness, giving up two of his manors by the injunctions of the Bishop of Chester as a penitence. The deed is not in the *Monasticon*, and had evidently not been seen by Dugdale, as it would have modified in some respects the account he gives of the date and place of death of Robert de Stafford.

Robert de Stafford, the grantor, was a younger son of the baronial house of *Toeni* in Normandy, frequently alluded to in the pages of *Ordericus Vitalis*, and founded in England the great feudal family of Stafford, Dukes of Buckingham, of which the last was beheaded by Henry VIII, ostensibly for bearing the arms of Plantagenets, but more probably out of jealousy of his great possessions and high birth. The witnesses to the deed are Nicolas, the son of Robert de Stafford, who succeeded him; Warine Malecorne, who appears as Warinus amongst the tenants of Robert in Domesday book; Brien, another tenant in Domesday Book and ancestor of the Staffordshire family of Standen, long since extinct in the male line, and Garnegode, who cannot be well identified. The deed is drawn up like a Saxon document, with a cross after each name of a witness, and the boundaries of Wrottesley are given in early English. It is noteworthy that most of the names given as boundaries still exist on the estate as names of fields or woods.

2. The confirmation of the above grant by Robert de Stafford,

grandson of the foregoing grantor. This deed is in the *Monasticon*. The fine of 1 John written on the same piece of parchment likewise exists in the Record Office. Written at the bottom of it is "In Stafford est terra et in Warwick placitum;" in other respects the copy is identical.

3. An original deed by which Adam the abbot and monastery of Evesham, enfeoffs Simon, the son of William de Coctune, with the manors of Wrottesley and Levinton. Adam became abbot in 1160; and Simon pays half a mark on account of Wrottesley on the Pipe Roll of 13 Henry II; the date of the deed is therefore between 1160 and 1167. Simon's son is called indifferently William Fitz Simon and William de Wrottesley, and this deed is the original title deed of the manor, by which it has been held by the existing family of Wrottesley to the present day. The witnesses to this deed are mostly historical personages. The first three—Pagan the clerk, Philip the steward, and William de Tywe, are tenants of the monastery, and attest evidently on behalf of the abbot. The remainder are Enguerrand de Humet and Jordan his brother. These are sons of Richard de Humet, the hereditary constable of Normandy; a full account of this family is given in the introduction to Stapleton's *Norman Rolls*. Bertram de Verdun, the next witness, was the head of the Norman house of Verdun, now represented by the Earls of Shrewsbury. His foundation grant of Croxden Abbey is in the *Monasticon*. In this he speaks of Richard de Humet as "dominum meum qui me nutritivit," meaning that his fief of Verdun was held under the Humets, and that he had been ward to Richard the constable during his minority. These three witnesses Enguerrand, Jordan, and Bertram are witnesses to the treaties between William the Lion of Scotland and Henry II, of 1175. They are found as witnesses to several deeds of Henry II and Richard I. Jordan de Humet acted as constable to the army of Richard Cœur de Lion in Palestine, probably in the old age of Richard his father, or minority of William his nephew and the successor of Richard in the constablewick. Jordan de Humet and Bertram de Verdun joined King Richard at Acre in 1191 (*Gesta Regis Ricardi*) and Bertram de Verdun was left at Acre as castellan, i. e., in charge of the English garrison, when Richard advanced towards Jerusalem. According to Dugdale he died at Joppa in 1191, his authority being the chronicle of Croxden Abbey. Bertram de Verdun was sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire during the greater part of the reign of Henry II.

Alexander de Claverley or Claverleigh appears to be the same as Alexander *Clericus*, who was sheriff of Staffordshire from the sixth to the eleventh year of Henry II inclusive, for in a suit of 6 Henry II, respecting the advowson of Bobington, the jury state that an Alexander, who was sheriff of the Lord the King and *custodian of the king's manor of Claverleigh* had presented in that capacity to the church of Bobington, which was a chapelry under Claverleigh. As Alexander de Claverleigh he pays a fine of ten marks for a forest trespass in the thirteenth year of Henry II. (*Pipe Roll, Staffordshire*.)

Robert Pincerna, or *Boteler*, of Oversley in Warwickshire, was so called from their hereditary office of Pincerna or *Butler* to the Earls of Meller and Leicester. (See Dugdale's *Baronage*.) Oversley adjoins Cocton or Coughton, in Warwickshire, and Robert was one of the principal tenants of the Abbot of Evesham, as well as nearest neighbour to the Coctons. The chronicles state he was taken prisoner at Dol

in Brittany, in arms against the king in the rebellion of 1172; his lord, the Earl of Leicester, was the leader of the rebellion.

Walter Bret, or Brito, was dapifer or *steward* of the constable of Normandy, as shown in a deed amongst the Harleian charters in the British Museum. In this capacity he may be said to have formed part of the king's household, and the Brito, who formed one of the murderers of Thomas à Becket, was probably of this family. A Walter le Bret appears as owing forty marks on the *Warwick Pipe Roll* of the thirty-fourth year of Henry II.

Ralph de Meilnil witnesses other deeds of the constable, and was probably of his household; he was akin to the Humets, as in the reign of Richard I, Emma de Humet grants land at Thormodebi to Robert de Humet, which had formerly belonged to Godfrid de Meilnil his uncle. In the constable's grant of Hesseby or Hessebi, among the Harleian charters in the British Museum, he styles Walter Bret and Ralph de Meilnil his knights. Ralph is likewise the first witness to William de Humet's (the next constable) grant to the nuns of Stamford. (*Carte Antiquæ*, E. 110.)

Roelen de Verdun holds under Bertram de Verdun in the *Liber Niger* of 1166. He left an only daughter and heiress Nicolaa, about whose marriage there was a contention in the first year of John. (*Oblata Roll*, 1st John.)

Wido de Verdun left issue William de Verdun, who married a daughter of William de Valeines (*Monasticon*). He was out in arms against King John, and gave his son John as a hostage (*Fine Roll*, 1 John.)

In a suit in the *Curia Regis* of 1 John, a Robert de Valeines is attorney for Simon de Cocton, and on many other occasions there is a close connection between the Coctons and Verduns, which seems to bespeak a common origin or a close connection by marriage or blood. One branch of the Verduns held a hamlet in Coughton called the Wyke, and in the reign of Edward the First Richard de Verdun, of the Wyke, grants to William de Wrottesley, whom he calls his cousin (*consanguineus*), all the lands which may fall to him by the death of his (Richard's) ancestor, Symon de Verdun. There was a contemporary, Symon de Verdun and Symon de Cocton, Philip de Verdun and Philip de Cocton, and it seems not unlikely that the Coctons were a branch of the Verduns. It appears also from the Wrottesleys' deeds that the latter family bore the *fret*, the well known cognisance of the Verduns, until they assumed their present arms in the reign of Edward III. There is no doubt that the present family of Wrottesley are a younger branch of the Coctons of Warwickshire, as their descent is proved by original documents from Symon, the son of William de Coctune, the grantee of the deed above given.

No. 12 is a deed of excommunication, dated 1387, by which one of the canons of the ecclesiastical College of Tettenhall, in Staffordshire, formally excommunicates an unknown person or persons for stealing the hens of a poor woman. The object of it is not very apparent, as the delinquent is not named.

No. 16. An ancient deed of the twelfth century, by which William, son of Guy de Offini, grants land in Wodeford, near Seisdon, to the monks of Dudley. The Harleian MS. 3868 contains a deed in which his father, Guy de Opheni, gave the church of Womburne to the same

house. This family were one of the principal military tenants of the Paganel's, Barons of Dudley; and the deed is witnessed by Gervase Paganel, the head of his house; Isabel, the Countess (she was the sister of the Earl of Leicester); Robert Paganel, son of Gervase; Roger de Haggeley, and others. The Ophenis were lords of Wombourne and Bromwich in Staffordshire, held under the barony of Dudley. William, "filius Widonis", is stated to hold three fees of old feoffment under Gervase Paganel, in the *Liber Niger* of 1166.

No. 17 is a deed by which Giles de Erdinton, Dean of the King's College of Wolverhampton, grants land for the maintenance of a chaplain at Wolverhampton. It is the foundation-deed of Erdington's chantry, which was dissolved at the Reformation. Giles was son of Sir Thomas de Erdinton, the powerful favourite of King John, who was sheriff of Staffordshire during the whole of that monarch's reign.

No. 18 is a deed by Thomas Erdington, *temp. Henry VI*, founding another chantry, or further endowing the preceding. He was the direct descendant of Sir Thomas; but the family is now extinct in the male line.

ON AN INSCRIBED STONE OF THE ROMAN PERIOD FOUND AT SEA-MILLS, NEAR BRISTOL.

BY THE REV. JOHN M'CAUL, LL.D., PRESIDENT OF UNIVERSITY
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IN the month of June of the present year some labourers, who were working at Sea Mills,¹ on the Avon, found a stone lying with its face downwards on the surface of the rock. Mistaking it for a part of the rock they broke it, but fortunately so that all the four pieces can be easily adjusted. For my knowledge of it I am indebted to the Rev. H. M. Scarth, who kindly sent me an accurate drawing that he had himself made of the object soon after it was found. My learned correspondent in his letter describes it thus:—

"The human head cut on it has earrings attached to the ears, and rays appear to come from the head. Above the head is a curved line, at each extremity of which is, on the right hand a cock, on the left a

¹ Can this place be identified with the Roman station of *Trajectus* mentioned in the fourteenth *itinerarium* of Antoninus? Horsley places this station near Hemham, whilst Mr. J. F. Nicholls, in the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute* (xxvii, p. 64), states strong reasons for believing that it was at Wick. Mr. Scarth seems to incline to the opinion that it was Sea Mills. For my part, I am afraid of venturing to discuss the subject, as I have no personal knowledge of the locality, and am insufficiently provided with good maps.

dog. Above it is a cross * so formed. Below the bust is the word *SPES*, with a leaf-stop on each side; and below the letters *c* (or *o*) *SENTI*. There the stone is broken, or rather, as seems to me, cut."

The characteristics of this stone sufficiently prove that it was monumental, in memory of a female named *Spes*. That it was monumental is indicated by the human head cut on it (the curve probably intended to denote the top of a niche in which a figure or bust was sometimes placed), the representation of animals, and by the inscription. In



these particulars it resembles many sepulchral stones; the only thing not common is the angular form of the upper part, but of this there are several examples. (See *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, n. 322, and Gruter, p. 793, n. 7; p. 831, n. 8; p. 907, n. 6; p. 910, n. 9, etc.) That it was a memorial of a female¹ named *Spes* is also, I think, certain. It may be assumed from the common practice in ancient Roman monuments that the human head was intended as a likeness of the person in whose memory the gravestone was set up. The ear-rings and the absence of a beard suffi-

¹ The head, which is cut on the stone, may be regarded as decisive that *Spes* is not used as "a religious sentiment". In a paper by Mr. J. W. Grover, on "Pre-Augustine Christianity in Britain" (*Journal of the Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*, xxiii, p. 228), a cake of pewter found in the Thames is figured. It bears the word *SPES* and the Constantinian monogram. There the word may be regarded as "a religious sentiment". The object seems to me to have been used as an amulet or seal.

ciently show that the person was a female, and this inference is warranted by the name *Spes* in the inscription.¹ The rays (for such they seem to be) cut round the head indicate that the survivor regarded the lost one as entitled to the highest honours after death. We have a similar example in Horsley's n. lxxi, Cumberland, which closely resembles the object under consideration in important particulars, viz., the angular form of the upper part of the stone, the likeness of a female above the inscription, and rays emanating from the head. We may now proceed to the other characteristics of the stone; and first of all the inscription requires attention. I read it SPES C SENTI = *Spes Caii Sentii* = "Hope (the wife) of Caius Sentius," and regard his *cognomen* as lost on that portion of the stone, which has been broken or cut off. It is possible, but not, in my judgment, probable that *Spes* may have been a slave of *Caius Sentius*. The other characteristics of this stone are the dog and the bird (probably a cock) to the right and left of the head, and the cross or star above it. Here we enter on a wide field of speculation. Is this memorial Mithraic or Christian, or both? Or is it an ordinary Roman monument? The dog² is commonly found in the familiar group of Mithras slaying a bull, where it leaps up "to catch the blood of the victim," or "to direct that gaze on the dying bull, which was a pledge to him of second birth." In a Mithraic sculpture, described by Gruter, p. 34, n. 7, a *gallus* or cock is noticed, and the same bird is represented in a scene of Mithraic character, where it is regarded as "the attribute [of Sol] in Greece." (See C. W. King's *Gnostics*, p. 209.)

A somewhat similar bird is represented on a broken triangular stone, found at *Vindolana*, Chesterholm in Northumberland. It is figured in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, n. 270, and Dr. Bruce expresses the opinion that "the carvings on this stone are probably Mithraic emblems." In the

¹ The radiated head is as old as the time of Augustus. In the coins struck after his death, bearing the legend *Divus Augustus*, rays are represented as emanating from his head. They are symbolical of his consecration as a deity. The *corona radiata*, however, was not used by any emperor during his life before Nero. On the *nimbus* and *aureole*, see Eckhel, viii, 502; Martigny, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*; Walcott, *Sacred Archaeology*.

² I do not remember any example of a dog separate from a group in a Mithraic scene; and yet this animal was held in such veneration by Mithraists, that its presence on one of their gravestones is probable. See on this subject Mr. King's *Gnostics*, p. 60.

Gentleman's Magazine for 1833, p. 596 (from which extracts are cited in the *Lapidarium*) this stone is also figured, but the bird's tail terminates in a twisted snake that is not observable in the woodcut given by Dr. Bruce. Mr. Hodgson, who wrote the article in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, regards the bird as a cockatrice, and hazards the expression of some strange speculations of his own, with a visionary identification by Mr. Faber, regarding the other objects represented on that stone. For my part I see in the cock (*gallus*) merely a symbol of the *Galli* or Gauls, and in "the circle with the seasons at the equinoxes and solstices marked upon it" nothing more than a representation of an ordinary loaf of ancient Italian bread divided, as was usual, into four parts¹ by intersecting lines, and thus standing for "four" or "fourth." The two objects then, the *gallus* and the *quadrae*, are, according to my view, used as military hieroglyphics for the 4th Cohort of *Galli*, which, as we know from the *Notitia*, and from altars found in this place, was stationed at *Vindolana*=Chesterholm. The other objects represented on the stone seem to be the sun, a cross, and the moon. Now, as we know from coins² of the Roman emperors, the sun and moon were used as attributes of the emperor and empress, indicating their eternity, and thus *Sol* became the representative of the emperor and *Luna* of the empress. Hence the suggestion may be offered that the sun and moon on this stone are symbols of imperial personages. The cross (if it be one) leads us to look for these imperial personages in the time of or after Constantine the Great. If we select his time, the moon may be regarded as the symbol of the Empress *Fausta*, or rather of the mother-empress *Helena*, well known for her attachment to the Christian faith, and the reputed discoverer of the true cross. It may be that we should regard the three objects as symbolising Constantine himself, for he not merely upheld the cross, but had on

¹ "Et violare manu malisque audacibus orbem
Fatalis crusti, patulis nec parcere quadris."

(*Eneid*, vii, 114, 115.)

"Levat opus, palmisque suum dilatat in orbem,
Et notat, impressis sequo discriminis quadris."

(*Moretum*, 48, 49.)

² *E. gr.*, of Vespasian, of Titus, of Trajan, of Severus. See Eckhel, vi, p. 423, and vii, p. 181. See also Gruter, p. 32, n. 10, and p. 42, n. 2. Mr. Grover, in the article already referred to, compares, as to the cross and crescent, similar objects over the epitaph of Laenus, a Christian martyr. See Maitland's *Church in the Catacombs*, p. 129, where the stone is figured.

his coins "*Soli invicto comiti*", and (as Julian reproached him) "*Lunam prorsus deperibat, totusque in eam intuens nihil de victoria laborabat.*" If we adopt the time after Constantine, the symbols may denote any Christian sole emperor and empress in about the century after his death.

But I rather suspect that the object is not a cross. It has occurred to me that it may be a monogram¹ for *IT, iterum*, the tall *I* being crossed, or the *T* elongated. The sun and moon may stand for the Emperor Postumus, one of the thirty tyrants, as the heads representing them do on a unique coin of his described by Eckhel, vii, p. 441 :— "*Solem et lunam æternitatis esse symbolum satis hactenus vidimus. In presente nummo aliam allegoriam constituent, nimirum præclaris suis factis inclarescere Postumum, et esse late conspicuum æque ac solem et lunam astra lucentissima.*" *IT=iterum* will refer to his second consulship,² on which he entered whilst he was in Gaul, of which he had been governor before his assumption of the imperial purple. These facts may sufficiently account for his popularity in a regiment of Gauls, and, besides this, there is good reason to believe, as may be inferred from the title *Postumiana* of the first Cohort of Dacians on altars found at Birdoswald in Cumberland (see *Lapidarium Septentrionale*) that he was a favourite with the troops in Britain. We find a sufficient reason for the symbolism adopted on this stone in the facts that *Valerian* and *Gallienus* were the emperors in A.D. 259, and *Postumus* but an usurper. The title *Postumiana* was, I suspect, not openly adopted by the first Cohort of Dacians before A.D. 262.

Having considered the dog and the bird we may now proceed to the object cut in the angle of the stone above the head. Here the first question is, is it a star or a cross? From its position on the stone it may be either a star or a cross, and the assumption that it is a star will suit both the Mithraic and Christian theories, as a single star is found on stones confessedly belonging to each of these cults. But from the drawing of this figure that I have before me, that was made with special attention to this point, it appears to have one line too few for a star, and one too many for a cross.

¹ See Mommsen's *Inscr. Asiac, &c., Latinae*, p. 163, n. 809, and p. 963, n. 11.

² See Reland's *Fasti Consulares*, p. 157; and Orelli, i, p. 547.

Hence it seems to me as if it were intended for a Constantinian monogram, *i. e.*, Chi Rho, but left unfinished.¹ it may be designedly, lest the grave, known to be that of a Christian by this distinguishing mark, might be desecrated by Pagan unbelievers. This opinion that the memorial is Christian may also be supported by the bird, on the assumption that it is a cock, as there is reason for regarding the *gallus* as a Christian symbol. The connection with St. Peter is known to every one, and independently of this it was regarded as the symbol not merely of vigilance but of hope, and thus may have been adopted here as a play on the name of the departed female; somewhat similar examples of *paronomasia*, moreover, being not uncommon in the inscriptions of the catacombs of Rome. Prudentius, *Cathermerinon, Hymn. 1*, with this view of the symbolism of cock-crow, says:—

“ *Hoc esse signum præscii
Norunt repromissæ spei;
Qua nos soporis liberi
Speramus adventum Dei.* ”

The name,² also, of the female, and the fact that she had but one, countenance this opinion, which is also supported by the absence³ of D.M., with which Pagan epitaphs commonly begin.

So far the evidence preponderates in favour of the opinion that the memorial is Christian. But may it not be both Mithraic and Christian? On this subject I take the liberty of submitting a passage from my “Christian Epitaphs of the first Six Centuries,” pp. 56, 57.

“ * *Percipio* is similarly used in heathen inscriptions, where it is applied to those who had participated in the rites of the *Mater Deum Magna Idæa* or of *Mithras*, known as the †*Taurobolium* and *Criobolium*. Thus we have ‘*percepto Taurobolio Criobolioque*’ in an inscription given by De Rossi, n. 24, of the date 319 A.D.; in Orelli’s n. 2130, of the date

¹ See *Christian Epitaphs*, p. 45, where an imperfect Constantinian monogram is noticed. It is scarcely necessary to remark that there are many examples of the monogram placed over the inscription.

² *Spes* is a name of a female common to both Pagans and Christians. Among the latter it is not very often found. See, however, De Rossi’s n. 532, and Perret, xxxii. We have also the Latin forms *Spesina*, *Sperantia*, and the Greek *Elpis*, *Elpidius*, *Elpizusa*, *Elpidephorus*. The fact that there is but one name is not conclusive that the person was a Christian, but it adds to the probability. See *Christian Epitaphs*, p. xx.

³ This also adds to the probability; but there are a few pagan gravestones on which this usual commencement is not found, and there are a few Christian on which the letters appear. See *Christian Epitaphs*, p. 60.

390 A.D.; in his n. 2335, of the date 376 A.D.; in Henzen's n. 6040, of the date 370 A.D.; in Muratori's n. 4, p. 389, of the date 383 A.D.; and also in Reinesius, cl. i, 40 (without date), whose note is worth reading. In Muratori's n. 2, p. 371, of the date 305 A.D., we have the words 'Taurobolum percepit felic(iter).'

"The oldest example of the *Taurobolium*, of which I am aware, was in 133 A.D. See Mommsen, *Inscript. Neapol.*, n. 2063; Fleetwood, p. 11; Fabretti, p. 665; and Reinesius, as above.

"Another term in which there is a strange agreement is *renatus*, applied by Christians to the baptized, as in De Rossi's n. 270, '(ca)elesti *renatus* (aq)ua qui vivit in (œvum)',—see also n. 36, 'natus est in cœlum',—and by pagans to *Tauroboliati*. Thus 'Taurobolio Criobolioque in cœlum *renatus*', in Orelli's n. 2352, of the date 376 A.D.; and 'arcanis perfusionibus in cœlum *renatus* *Taurobolium Crioboliumque fecit*', in Henzen's n. 6040. These mystic rites seem to have been a mixture of the cults of the *Magna Mater* and *Mithras*, with the addition of some Christian principles and terms."

* "In some instances where this verb is used, it is difficult to decide whether the inscription is Christian or pagan. Thus in Henzen, n. 6147, 'D. M. Murtius Verinus pater Murtis Verine et Murtie Florianeni filiabus malemerentibus crudelis pater titulum inscripsit. Verina percepit m. x. vicxit annos xii, menses v, Florianes percepit m. xii. vicxit annis viii, m. iii. Innocentes acceperunt a suo patre quod ei debuerant'; and in Mommsen I. N., n. 3160, 'D. M. Ingeniosæ que vixit annis iii, m. v, dies xxi. Fide percepit mesorum vii. Aur. Fortunius pater filiæ.' Henzen regards *fide* as used for *fidem*. I am inclined to take it as an adverb."

†* "The *Taurobolium* and *Criobolium* were respectively sacrifices of a bull and of a ram on the occasion of initiations. The persons who received them (*qui perceperunt*) descended into a deep pit which was covered over with a wooden platform composed of pierced planks. On this platform the animal was killed, and the persons beneath presented their bodies to receive the blood as it descended through the holes. The result was believed to be purification that lasted for twenty years, or everlasting regeneration."

On the same subject we find the following remarks in Mr. King's *Gnostics*, p. 48.

"There is very good reason to believe that, as in the East the worship of Serapis was at first combined with Christianity, and gradually merged into it with an entire change of name, not substance, carrying with it many of its ancient notions and rites; so in the West a similar influence was exerted by the Mithraic religion. Seel (*Mith.*, p. 287) is of opinion that 'as long as the Roman dominion lasted in Germany we find also traces of the Mosaic law: as there were single Jewish, so there were also single Christian families existing amongst the Gentiles. The latter however, for the most part, ostensibly paid worship to the Roman gods in order to escape persecution, holding secretly in their hearts the religion of Christ. It is by no means improbable that under the permitted symbols of Mithras they worshipped the Son of God and the mysteries of Christianity. In this point of view the Mithraic monuments so frequent in Germany are evidences of the secret faith of the early Christian Romans.'

The objection here is that there is no exclusively Mithraic emblem on the stone.

One other question remains for consideration—"Is it an ordinary Roman monument?" On this theory the figure believed by some to be a cross must be regarded as one of those Pagan decorations that are occasionally found on their sculptured stones. (See *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, nn. 237, 366, 546, 547, 553.) The dog may be taken as the symbol¹ of "affection," and the cock of "industry and vigilance," *i. e.*, *Spes* may have been represented as *amantissima mariti*² and *operaria a gallicinio*; and such symbolism is also consistent with the theory that the memorial is Christian.

The evidence, then, inclines me in favour of this theory, which, if the figure at the top in the angle be, as I suppose, an unfinished Constantinian monogram, is confirmed almost beyond doubt. Even if the missing sixth line in the figure was originally cut, although now no longer apparent, there seems to be as much reason for supposing that it was a Rho, *i. e.*, P, as for conjecturing that it was a ray; and even if the latter conjecture be true, the appearance of a separate star is not inconsistent with the Christian theory.

¹ This will remind the classical student of the verses in *Aeschylus*:

δωμάτων κύνα
δοθλῆν ἐκεῖνῳ, πολεμίαν τοῖς δικτύοσιν.

² See *Christian Epitaphs*, p. 14.

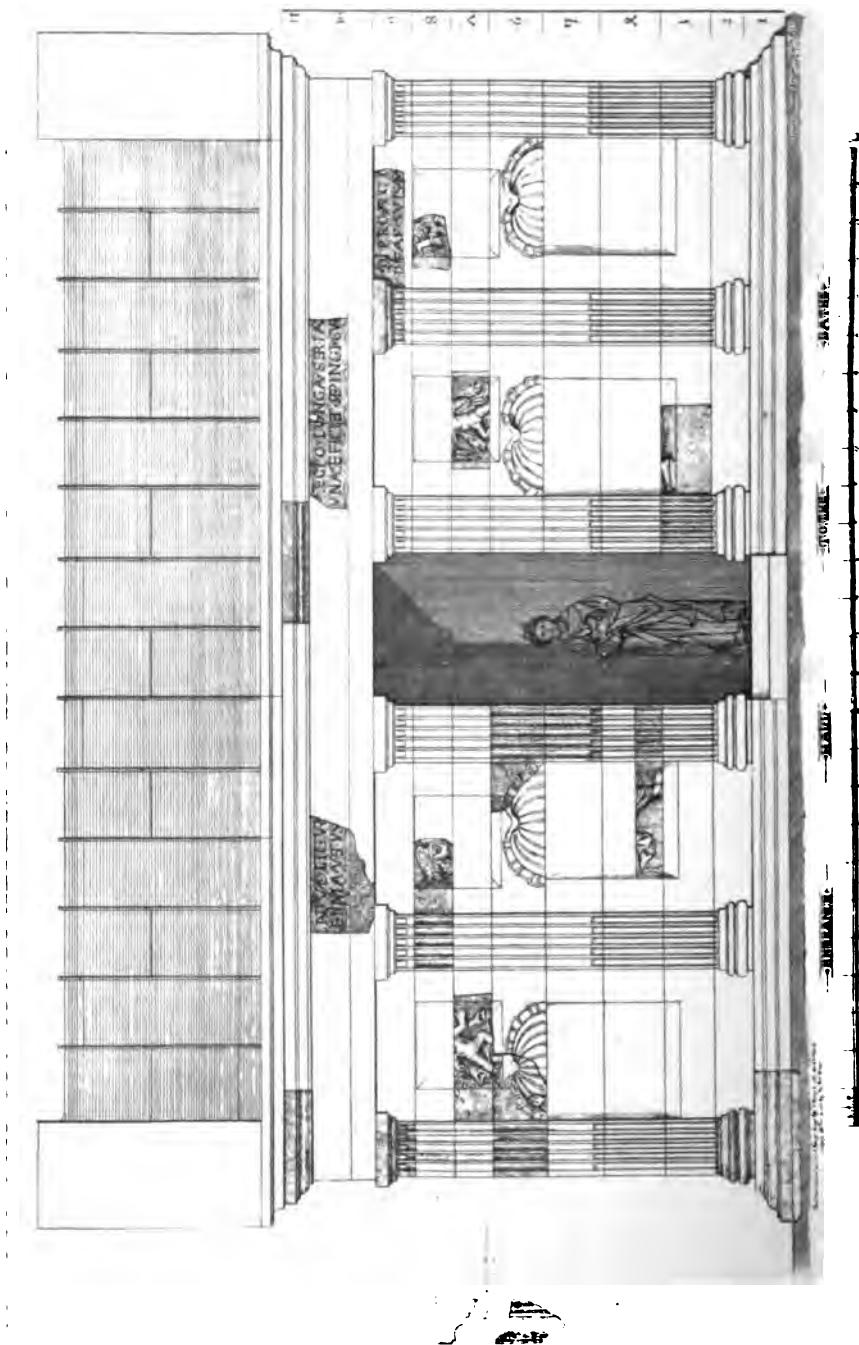




ELEVATION OF TEMPLE







NOTES ON THE
 REMAINS OF THE ROMAN TEMPLE AND
 ENTRANCE HALL TO ROMAN BATHS
 FOUND AT BATH IN 1790.

BY JAMES T. IRVINE, ESQ.

THE subject of the remains found in Bath in 1790, when, during excavations for the Grand Pump Room in that city, portions of a Roman temple were brought to light, may seem too utterly exhausted to be of much value again to bring before the consideration of our Society. I trust, however, to be able to prove that relative to them there is some matter yet left neither unworthy of notice nor undeserving of the attention of antiquaries.

In 1865 excavations were made on the lower Borough Walls for the Albert Memorial wing of the United Hospital in that city, which laid open interesting remains of hot and cold baths connected with the *hot* bath spring. Considerable portions of these baths were preserved by J. E. Gill, Esq., the architect of the new building. In one case the sheets of lead still remained at the bottom of the hot bath; in the other, the large leaden discharge-pipe. One day, when down looking over these remains (then open) with Mr. J. Bates, the clerk of works, the base of a large pilaster had been found re-used as a wall-stone in the wall of the newly discovered hot bath. It occurred to us to try whether it agreed with or might be probably connected with the temple remains. Visiting the Museum where the antiquities belonging to the Corporation are preserved, and carefully going over them, we came to the conclusion that, although the new base had belonged to and been used in a building as important as the temple, it could never have belonged to that edifice. We, moreover, satisfied ourselves that there remained enough of the fragments found in 1790 wherewith to reconstruct the elevations of the *two* buildings, of which there was no difficulty to see they were parts. Reference to the work of Lysons, and the restoration, in the tenth volume of the *Archæologia*, by Sir Henry Charles Englefield, Bart. (read

March 3, 1791), satisfied us that neither design was quite correct. I at once commenced to make careful measurements of each stone now remaining, for since the time of Lysons some of the smaller pieces have disappeared (which in his work are engraved). One most valuable stone belonging to the side-cornice of the smaller building had even then been mutilated (as he informs us) between the time his drawings were made and their publication in 1802. Another of the stones engraved in his work (Plate 8, figs. 4 and 5) having claws at the corners of the base-mouldings on the square plinth, is neither more nor less than an old base-stone of a column of the Norman cathedral at Bath, erected by Bishop John de Villula.¹

The remains found on September 10th and 11th, 1790, received on April 2nd and 3rd, 1869, some valuable additions. In lowering the floor of the third cellar westward, under the south side of Westgate Street (from Stall Street) three fragments were found. There is much reason to believe the spot where these were discovered had been one *side* of what was used as the stone-yard when Reginald Fitz Josceline, Bishop of Bath and Wells (1174-1183), rebuilt the Saxon churches of St. Mary de Staull and St. Michael's (within the walls). To obtain part of the materials wherewith to rebuild the first church, he appears to have actually pulled down the Roman temple, then, no doubt, standing roofless, but seemingly so respected that even in re-using, by splitting off all the plain block-stone, they yet refrained from destroying the ornamental parts.²

The curious evidence tending to fairly prove these points I obtained, when a portion of the platform of the temple,

¹ In excavating for the passage across Stall Street (March, 1869), another Norman base, precisely similar to that given in Lysons' work, was found in front of the west wall of the Pump Room. There is now no difficulty in knowing where they came from, for during the present repair of the Bath Abbey Church, portions of the pillars of the *nave* of Bishop John de Villula's cathedral were laid open, proving its length to have been within a few feet of that of the whole present Abbey Church; and its details (uniform throughout) exactly corresponded with those found used as old materials at the west end of the Pump Room.

² Reginald Fitz Josceline, Bishop of Bath and Wells, founded St. John's Hospital in Bath, and rebuilt the churches of St. Mary de Staull and of St. Michael within the walls. He sat 1174-1183. I strongly suspect the west front of Wells Cathedral (exclusive of the figures, a later addition) to have been his work. Among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Wells is preserved the document by which the French king appoints him to be abbot of St. Exuperantius at Corboil, near Paris, he having before held an office at Sarum. (See third Report of Commission on Historical MSS. by T. Riley, Esq.)

including the edges of its south and west fronts, was exposed during the excavations for the walls of the Grand Pump Room Hotel in November 1867.

This evidence is both too long and loaded with careful plans and sections (all to scale) to detain the Association with at present.

The fragments of the grand temple now preserved consist (beginning at bottom) of, first, one of the two large quoin stones of the retaining walls at each end of the flight of steps which led up to the entrance of the building. This is four feet and half an inch high, and had carving on the two faces of one angle. Next remains the lower part of the shaft of one of the columns, its base-mouldings being part of the same stone, as in all other Roman examples at Bath; the square plinth on which it stood was a separate stone; remarkable to relate, frequently less in diameter than the width of the base-mouldings resting on it. This extraordinary peculiarity, and one to our eyes so barbarous, which exist in the pilasters of the small building, was similar in the base-mould found at the Hospital, and in other Roman remains found at Bath. On inspecting this portion of the reeded shaft it is seen to be entirely hollowed out so as to leave a stone shell of only about four inches and a quarter thick. The plan of this portion is somewhat more than half the circumference, and instead of its having been a perfect circle, was a flattened segment prepared to stand against a wall. In its front the base-mouldings had been cut away to allow of the abutment of a small, low dwarf wall against it, whose flat coping, weathering, outside, could distinctly be traced, thus evidencing the fact that this shaft was the exterior one on left hand (or south side) of front.

The next stone was another long length of, perhaps, the same shaft, its interior agreeing with the first in being hollowed out. The flutes on the lower part of its exterior preserved the upper terminations of the reeds. On drawing the parts out, using the ordinary height of the order, it became evident that a thin slice between these two stones must have existed, but which is now lost. This, therefore, had been one of the solid "bonders" to which these long hollow lengths were the "closers."

The parts next remaining are two pieces of the cap. Both these were hollowed out like the stones of the shaft.

The undermost of these evidently had its ends prepared for bonding into the wall; but the lost part of leaves, about six inches in depth, proved what the depth of the solid bonder had been.

Lysons has drawn attention to the close similarity of these to the capitals of the so-called Temple of Jupiter Stator at Rome. It is, indeed, so marked that I am led to suspect the Bath design had been a rude attempt to copy that at Rome.

As there was no doubt that the thin shell of the capstone, four inches and a quarter thick, could not have supported either the weight of a heavy entablature, or the large stone lintels that would have been required in the case of shafts standing detached in front, it at once became evident that the design had been only a shallow relief affair, and the sections of top cornice and pediment remarkably coincided therewith.

Of the cornice resting on the columns, one very small fragment only was known to Lysons. On this small portion of the lower member remain the letters "VM", in characters four inches and a quarter long.

This is still the only morsel of inscription known, which did actually belong to the great temple. That so well known, so often written on, and so loosely termed "The inscription on the Temple of Bath," had no connection with or ever belonged to the temple at all, neither was it on any part of it; but was cut on the cornice of the small building whose fragments were found at the same time, most likely the entrance hall to the baths, standing in front, but somewhat south, of the temple.

Indeed, while we derive enough evidence from the several accounts of the discovery in 1790 to show that no portion of the temple platform was then seen save only some of the steps leading up to it,¹ on which same steps the west wall of

¹ "When the excavations for the walls of the new Pump Room were made, and the labourers had dug down to about the level of the present baths, at this depth they found parts of the fragments of the temple on September 10th, and the Gorgon's head on September 11, 1790. They came to a Roman pavement formed of large square stones on the north front of that which is called the King's Bath. There were also dug up from these excavations part of a plain column, eighteen inches nearly in diameter. The circumference at the foot of the shaft is perfect, having an Attic base. *Also parts of a wall in which was inserted a pilaster of the same dimensions.* A fragment of an inscription, part of which is obliterated, cut in the naked part of the wall, runs in two lines between the capitals of the pilasters, more Tuscan than Doric: if so, the front

present pump-room is built,¹ we have also evidence preserved that part of the wall of this second building was found so far perfect that the base of one of its pilasters then still stood in its original position. And one of the lamentable results of the absurd mystery made about the discovery at the time, was that no plans whatever seem to have been taken by any one of the remains as they lay when opened out.²

On proceeding to measure the fragment of horizontal was nearly twenty feet, and accords very well with the twenty feet length of inscription, the fragments of which were found in the same place." "There was also dug up a third piece of stone with only VN on it." In Gough's *Camden* (p. 117) we are told that "the pavement of this temple was about twelve feet below the level of the present street; the descent into it by *three steps* east to the King's Bath, and *four upwards* to ward's Hall Street." We learn from another account that the present west wall of Pump Room was built "*on the steps*". This seems to be intended to tell us that on the east side of trench to King's Bath side there were three steps down to pavement, and that on west side of trench four more could be seen on the side next the street; but that as the earth was not removed on that side, the top step could not be seen. This would fairly represent seven steps seen out of the eight, which probably was the true number, as the carved corner-stone of the end wall of the flight measures just four feet and a half English in height.

¹ In the paper on the remains found at Bath, written by Sir Henry Englefield, and read before the Society of Antiquaries, March 3rd, 1791, it is stated, "About twelve feet below pavement of present street a pavement of large stones with steps fronting east of these. Not enough was laid open to discover the size of building. It appears to extend under Stall Street. On it the *present wall of Pump Room is built*." In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1807, p. 327, is a note relating to some remains found at Oxford. The note is signed "D." Of these it mentions, "They appeared just in the same state as those found at Bath some years ago, when the workmen came to the pitching and pavement of a street opposite the White Hart Inn in Stall Street, *eight feet* below the present surface, when they laid the foundation of the new Pump Room, where they found also broken altars." The old *Bath Guide* states that "an auncient paved way consisting of broad, free stones, with a channel at the extremity to carry off the water, was discovered. The pavement of this temple was about twelve feet below the level of the present street; the descent into it by *three steps* east to the King's Bath, and *four upwards* towards Stall Street." From the surface of pavement in front of the White Hart Inn to the surface of its cellar floor was 7 feet 10 inches, and from the surface of the cellar floor to the surface of the rough platform of temple was 1 foot. Thus the whole depth from surface of pavement on *west* side of Stall Street, in front of the south end of the old White Hart Inn, to level of top of rough surface of temple platform was 8 feet 10 inches; or at south wall, 8 feet 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. As there is some considerable fall in the street-level, we are unable to say at what point the pavement-line of 1790 stood, or was taken in the above accounts.

² As some of the reasons which were the cause of no plans having been preserved are connected with a disputed matter relative to the question of the original author of the design of the Grand Pump Room, I have taken copies of certain minutes of the Corporation bearing on the subject. They are as follows:

1791.—"3rd Oct., Mr. Baldwin is elected architect and surveyor to the Corporation. 26 Oct., Mr. Baldwin ordered to deliver up all books, etc., belonging to Corporation, or have a bill filed in Chancery against him." (Minutes of Bath Corporation.)

1793.—"13 Sept. To consider a letter addressed by Mr. Reveley to the Mayor, offering his services as an architect to this Corporation; and also a

cornice of Temple I had expected to find its bottom bed level and at right angles to the front. To my surprise it was only a piece of thin seven and one-eighth ashlar, and splayed upwards four and a half inches at the back (similar to rear arches of Gothic windows).

This had evidently been done on purpose to obtain a dark shadow on the back wall in the narrow space left between the two, giving additional force to an otherwise somewhat flat composition. The whole design has been with great judgment and skill arranged for the same purpose.

Of the upper large flat space of this cornice no part is at present known, nor does any fragment seem to have turned up in 1790.

On considering this matter closely, we find that either the inscription was of so great a length as not only to cover this upper large and ordinary position for inscriptions, but also to necessitate the extension of a considerable part to the lower narrow band seven and three quarter inches in width. (Of which result I am not aware of any other example being known). Or, secondly, that the inscription being short, was therefore cut in the large four and a quarter inch letters we see in the "V M" on the lower band, seven and three quarter inches deep, and the upper broad face had been covered with scroll ornament alone, and without any decidedly marked centre to prevent it detracting by contrast from the effect of the central head on tympanum above.

When Dr. Guidott published his *Discourse of Bath*, in

demand made by him for expenses, and drawing plans and elevations for a new pump room and baths in this city." There not being enough members present to form a "Hall", this letter and other things stand over. "At a Hall held Dec. 10, Mr. Reveley's letter being read, the sum of £27 : 9 : 6 is ordered to be paid to him relative to his drawing plans of the baths and Pump Room."

1794.—"Jany. 7. The Committee report that they have consulted with Mr. J. Palmer relative to the finishing the new Pump Room; and that he has drawn and prepared plans and elevations thereof, and the same being now produced by the said J. Palmer,—Resolved that Dr. Harrington, the present Mayor, Mr. Alderman Horton, Mr. Alderman Wiltshire, or any other member of this Corporation, or any three of them, be, and they are hereby appointed and made, a committee to examine such plans, and also estimates of the expenses that will be required for carrying the same into execution; with liberty for the said committee to call in to their assistance any proper person or persons to explain the same, and that the said committee do report the same accordingly." (Bath Corporation Minutes.) The want of plans will be guarded against in such cases as the remains found at the Hospital, White Hart, cellars of Abbey Baths, Abbey Passage, and north-west corner of York Street, of all which I have obtained careful plans and sections.

1676, among the fragments he engraves and mentions as then to be seen fixed up in the city walls, was a flat slab covered with precisely such scroll ornament as we should expect to see used on this wide upper surface. No scale is given by which its size can now be obtained, but I have ventured to copy it, it appearing to me by no means improbable that it had turned up at some early time, when the houses which stood over the east end of the Temple front were erected or had their cellars excavated, and for the sake of preservation been placed in the city wall. Of the upper mouldings of the horizontal cornice no portion was found in 1790. But among the fragments obtained from below the cellar floor in Westgate Street (on the 2nd and 3rd of April, 1869), was, together with those of the side, a small part of the front cornice. The mouldings slightly differ in section and richness from that at sides, but the horizontal lines and depth remain the same.

From the remarkable way in which the frontispiece of the Temple is set on an angle quoin coming beyond the extreme columns, the necessity of the different sets of mouldings mitreing properly at the angles is prevented. The front cornice had small enriched brackets with sunk panels containing rude carving between them. From the perfect part of side cornice we obtain the corresponding depth of that of front, but from the broken state of this fragment, the O G mouldings at top cannot be quite recovered.

Of the side cornice, as before mentioned, one very large block was found in April 1869. It had on the top the hollow sunk for the gutter, no doubt lined with lead, which metal most likely covered the roof. The side-cornices had boldly carved lions' heads, through whose mouths the rain-water was discharged precisely as it would from Gothic gargoyle, with round openings for the lead discharge pipes.

The mouldings of the side cornice had been richly carved with what, for want of a better term, I shall call reversed fleurs-de-lis, and ribbons (see sketch). The same "perspective" treatment of the whole being adopted as in the front. Considerable portions of the red paint with which it had been thickly covered remained among this carving when found, and is still to be seen. This coating may have been intended for a ground to gild on, but no trace of actual gold was seen the day it was discovered.

The stone when found lay with its carved face downward, and to lighten it was split in two parts before removal from its confined bed. When discovered to have been carved, every care was taken to obtain the rest and to prevent any further mutilation, and search was made for other fragments, for which purpose the reverend Prebendary Scarth most liberally provided funds.

Of the stones which formed the tympanum six were found in 1790. The last (of very many) and the most careful illustration of these,—a wood engraving from a drawing by G. Scharf, Esq. (1855 ?)—has however omitted one remarkable feature. On the nose of the central head is an original conical hole. This (omitted in the woodcut) was the “trammel” hole. The centre, from which all the circular lines were drawn. As in many old windows and woodwork of the Gothic age, the general surface of stone, etc., required was scappled and dressed to the proper thickness bond and space required. It was then laid all together in place on the flat ground, and the working lines drawn over the whole surface, so that in sundry instances the centres and lines may yet be recovered from tracery. This precise plan was used by the Roman master mason at the quarries now called “the Tumps” (at Berwick camp). The centre hole made by the trammel’s steel point remains yet perfect on the nose of the head.

This curious peculiarity had escaped even the great care with which, otherwise, Mr. Scharf’s drawing had been made. Of the top cornice over pediment, eleven stones as they are now, but ten in Lysons (no doubt from one having been since broken) date to 1790, and a twelfth was found Nov. 23, 1867, lying on the west end of the Temple platform when it was then uncovered. (One of the old set had been that at bottom on right hand side; another, one of the stones of the back pediment.) It splays off at bottom to a feather-edge, and does not bond into cornice below to obtain strength. I examined the top of lowest stones to see if there remained the mark of any square plinth attached to its upper side, thus preventing by its weight a result we should expect from such weak construction, by the wet and winter frosts gradually raising the stone and destroying the exposed lower thin edge. I was, however, unable to obtain any information, the back having been cut away when it had been fixed up.

The state of this and the other stones, together with

the then treatment of the top member of cornice, the peculiar section, and yet its fair state of preservation, while the most exposed to weathering and damage of all the mouldings, leads me to suspect the true top member was an additional O G (or some such moulding), formed by the massive sheets of lead used for covering the roof being brought over the whole surface of gable coping, and having its edge dressed up into the required shape ; thus by its ample weight serving to keep the sloping coping cornice in place, preserving its joints from wet, and presenting the practical advantage to those entering the building, that in rainy weather no drip could take place in front, although it could have been scarcely avoided had the top of stone cornice been left flat. The sheets of Roman lead found at Bath are usually of considerable thickness, those found in 1871 on the bottom of the Roman hot bath in Abbey Passage, near the King's bath, being as much as three-eighths, and when taken up still retained the marks of the sand drag on the table on which they were cast. The steps up to Temple front were either seven or eight in number. The whole width of Temple front might be about 30 feet and a fraction English. The height of front from top of steps to top of lower front cornice, is about 31 feet 6 inches ; that from top of steps to apex of pediment cornice probably over 41 feet. The exterior length of the Temple, not including the steps, may have been about 49 or 50 feet ; and I possess direct evidence, in section, of at least a full depth of 10 feet of solid platform seen, but without reaching the bottom of it. In one part of this mass of solid masonry where with infinite labour at some time a cesspool had been sunk to a depth of 4 feet, with a width of at top from 8 to 9 feet, and at bottom of about 6 feet, about half way down, one of the blocks presented an original sawn side, a waste piece no doubt cut off the large stones brought for the walls. The *white* mortar (lias lime) was harder than the stone itself. And the Cottage Crescent stone, the hardest of all Bath stone (and from its very durability and hardness scarcely ever now sent out of Bath) would break up before the mortar would give way. It was thus impossible to extract the fragment.

Of the Temple pavement no remains were found, nor is it at all likely that any part now exists.

The rough top of solid platform lay only about 1 foot 3 inches below the top surface of the pavement of the cellar of the Old White Hart Inn, and 8 feet 10 inches below surface of street pavement on the west side of Stall Street.

Most likely, were excavations made in the cellars below the grand pump room many more fragments would be recovered. The remains found in 1790 seem to have been merely those pieces which lay in the direct lines of the trenches required to be made for the positions of the new walls.

The whole depth from floor of present cellars to the Roman stone pavement (mentioned in the accounts of the discovery) on which the fragments appear to have been found lying, can be scarcely over 4 feet at most in depth.

It is worthy of remark that the south wall of the Temple seems always to have been preserved as a boundary line, and was and is pretty fairly represented by the present north side of the ancient way to the Cross and hot baths called Cross Bath Lane. A few feet from the south side of Temple a Roman wall runs parallel with it, and about corresponds in line with the north side of the 9 feet paved passage on that side of the old King's Bath. It here marks the line of a wall in all the old pump rooms, and still closely agrees with one under the present.

It is, however, on the other side, as well to state that Stall Street passes over both the north walls of Forum and across the actual platform of the Temple, together with the western part of the Roman building of the baths, and represents no Roman street. The present Westgate Street, if the representative of a Roman way, has at least crept southward beyond its original line.

A curious fact was obtained when the lowest slab of the foundation of the south wall of Temple was laid open. It was found to present a sawn face of full five feet in length, with a down cut of 1 foot 1 inch, besides at bottom a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches which had parted from the weight of the two side blocks when the saw reached this depth. As the present stone saws are about six to seven feet in length in blade, it was evident the Roman workmen used stone saws as long or longer than those now used at the Bath stone quarries. A very considerable quantity of Roman window glass was turned up in the neighbourhood of the Temple.

This, however, is found in abundance all over the town when the Roman level is excavated (and even in villas in the neighbourhood). Many fragments were of large size, and from the *square edges* of the sheets.

The evidence of the dulled side (like a fine grinding) from the prepared surface on which it had been cast remains, and in some cases the flow of the liquid material is seen. It has a peculiar blue tint. It is impossible to give a better or more effective description of it than St. Paul did when he spoke of "seeing through a glass darkly." One has but to hold up a piece and quote his words to perfectly describe its character.

THE ENTRANCE HALL TO THE ROMAN PUBLIC BATHS.

The fragments of the so called "small Temple" of Lysons can be arranged with much greater ease than those of the temple. I believe this building was no temple whatever, but simply an entrance hall to baths (probably that to the men's wing) executed in stone, at the joint expense of the person mentioned in the long and famous inscription (well known to antiquaries, and so well discussed in that best and most valuable work on "Aquaæ Solis" by our learned Vice-President, Prebendary Scarth), and that of four or it may be five other wealthy citizens of Roman Bath, whose names were recorded in inscriptions on the face of the wall surface between the front pilasters. This building was erected probably later than the temple, and as part of the bathing establishment of that day was remarkable in being, perhaps, the only part *wholly composed of stone* in a public building having a depth of at least about 100 feet with a probable length of 500 feet. As before mentioned, when the excavations took place in 1790, a portion of its wall, containing part of one of the pilasters, remained in the original position.

No plan being then taken, this most valuable bit of evidence, which would have gone far to fix the arrangement of the baths in connection with the temple, is hopelessly lost. From what is left, I suspect it was the extreme left hand angle pilaster which was thus discovered standing.

On commencing to carefully measure the pieces, a long fragment in fair preservation I had always carelessly sup-

posed to have been a piece of cornice, turned out to be in truth a stone of the plinth. As attached to it in the solid, remained the square block to receive the base of the angle pilaster, and on further inspection it could be clearly seen that it beded somewhat lower than the pavement, which had left its mark very distinctly at the level to which it rose against this plinth. Had there been a step this stone would have beded flat on and slightly covered the joint at back of step. Above this stone, of what I will term the No. 1 course came No. 2 course, of which one of the moulded bases remained, just showing the bottoms of the reeds in the flutes with which the pilaster was ornamented. This stone returned round the angle of the building, but here presented a suspiciously new sawn face; and some considerable time afterwards I succeeded in bringing to light in the cellars of the Royal Institution the lost piece, together with another small fragment, possibly Roman, but unconnected with this building. Of No. 3 course one stone of a pilaster remained, continuing the reeded flutes, and from bonding along the wall had preserved part of the shallow recess in which sitting figures were carved in low relief; a small corbel and the foot of a figure (looking to left) resting on it still remained. Of No. 4 course about only one half the depth of the stone remains. Had it been perfect the whole height of the building could have been given beyond doubt to the quarter of an inch. This stone continued the flutes and reeding upwards, and bonding along the wall retained in its recess a portion of another sitting figure, but looking in this case to the right. These recesses were therefore common to both sides of the design. Of No. 5 course one stone remained; it fixed the height of reeding in the flutes of the pilasters. Of No. 6 course no less than two stones were left, and a careful inspection showed that while one stone belonged to the extreme left angle the other did not. And now an item which had given much trouble began to yield some return. I found that one of the outer fillets of the pilaster stones was always wider than the other on the same stone. I had attributed this to the late and rude character of the work. The largest of these two stones contained the pilaster and part of shell canopy over the sitting figures, together with the lower corner of one of the square shallow panels above containing the carved emblems of the seasons.

Fortunately the next slab above containing the figure of Spring remained and the leg fitted to the foot remaining on the lower slab. I now found that the object of the broad *side* fillet was to tell the *off side* of the pilaster from the centre. Evidently the stones of this building had been, like those of the temple, wrought at the quarry at the side of the great Roman road to Ilchester at Berewick, and brought down in the waggon, and to enable the "setter" to be able at once to tell to which hand they were to be set.

The Roman mason had left this fillet wider always, so that when the setter down at Bath took up a stone he at once knew whether it was a right or left hand stone in the building. It is quite possible some similar plan may have been used with the long lengths of the shafts of the Temple columns. (In that case the "closer" stone always bridged two courses at least in depth. The solid "bonder" stone serving as one course. These long shafts, besides being heavy loads to bring down had they been solid, would also have required strong tackling to place them in position. When hollowed out they were easily brought down, and afterwards erected without much difficulty.) The two stones last mentioned gave valuable information as to the width of the spaces between the pilasters.

The pilaster was about 1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches English, thus representing $1\frac{1}{2}$ Roman feet (the Roman foot being $11\frac{5}{8}$ ths and a fraction of our foot). The space between pilaster and square panel was about $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches; the width of panel, from stone of next course, 2 feet $3\frac{1}{4}$ in one instance, in others 2 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In the other stone of No. 6 course the space from panel to pilaster on its right side $10\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Leaving thus the clear width between pilasters 3 feet $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches, say 4 and $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a Roman foot.

The shell¹ canopies over the sitting figures are most un-

¹ Prebendary Scarth having given me strong reasons against the use of a double shell over these recesses, I carefully reinspected the fragment of course No. 4; and precisely in accord with his view, the left hand end of the stone is found to dish out at the proper breadth required for the one shell only. Probably this arrangement had been to permit statues being placed in front of these second pilasters. He has also drawn my attention to the fact that a pedestal on which one of them may have stood is still preserved. This was found about 1573. My thanks are owing for his kindness in directing my attention to this point, of which I have now no doubt whatever; and this I have been able to correct in the lithographs of the building.

usual, for as far as the parts remain they seem to be double in each space,—a remarkable arrangement.

Of course No. 7 two stones remained ; both had the full widths of panel, as above stated. The first held the emblem of Spring holding flowers, and *running to right*. The second bore that of Autumn holding wheat ears, and *ran to the left*. Of No. 8 course two fragments remained, the first contained not only a portion of the second pilaster from left side, but also one half the emblem of Summer bearing fruit, and *running to right*. The second stone was a portion of the emblem of Winter holding a bill-hook, and *running to left*, as did Autumn.

This left no longer any doubt that the design consisted of five divisions; Spring and Summer (who both ran to right) occupying respectively the two compartments, on left of centre space ; and Autumn and Winter, who both ran to left, those to right of centre space, this last being itself the entrance door ? Of No. 9 course two stones remained (one that when whole was drawn for Lysons) gave the cap of second pilaster on right, with part of the wall face between it and the last cap on that side.

There is a doubt whether the inscription on it as given by Lysons is quite correct. The greater part of slab containing the letters is now again lost, but a rare steel plate print, said to have been engraved for the Rev. Richard Warner (giving this and two other fragments) a copy of which is in the possession of Mr. C. P. Russel of Bath, which had evidently been executed soon after the discovery, has the inscription thus :—

A . PROACI ***

DEAE . SVIS . M ***

The first contraction as here given has, I think, not been preserved anywhere else. The other stone of this course is another cap the full depth. Of No. 10 course, composing the facia of the cornice, two fragments still remain.

These, the ancient stones of the attempted restoration to be seen fixed up in the entrance passage of the Bath Royal Institution, have been frequently but most erroneously described as the "Inscription on the Great Temple at Bath," but never had any connection with it. Neither was it, perhaps, of so early a date. The inscription is here in the usual position on the upper broad plain surface, and not as on that on

the Temple front on the narrow lower band which was here quite plain. To Mr. Lysons we owe thanks for preserving to us this information, as the first stone, when found, was the whole depth of both bands when his drawings were taken, had, as he mentions, been mutilated before his work was published in 1802. It is lamentable to see the fragment at present fixed up, with the lower part sawn off and destroyed only to produce a miserable uniformity with the other piece, and the new slabs on which a modern and certainly erroneous attempt (as the old letters testify) at restoration of the inscription is perpetrated. Of the 11th course, two stones remain. Whether any other course existed, or whether the edge of the lead of roof served as a gutter, and therefore showed its edge as a moulding, there are no means now of deciding. The panels did not recur at the gable ends, but there were tympanums; one contained the figure of the sun, of which the stones found in 1790 are now again lost (saving one doubtful stone which may or not have belonged to it). The other contains the figure of the moon. Its stones (engraved by Lysons) still remain. Enough of these are left to give about the pitch of gable and approximate to its height.

In 1871, in Abbey passage, excavations made under the directions of our member, C. E. Davis, Esq., F.S.A. (the architect to the city of Bath), laid open a bath having stone steps descending into it on the north and north-west sides. The bottom was covered with very thick sheets of lead quite perfect. Among the fragments of tiles, stones, and the blue lias clay with which it has filled, was found a fragment of moulded stone cornice, so similar in its sections to the character of the mouldings of this entrance hall, as to lead one to suspect it may have been a fragment of the cornice over these pediments. At all events it must have belonged to repairs done about the same time.

The notes on a prior page may be of value in clearing up matters relative to the discovery of the remains in 1790, and the building of the grand pump room at Bath.

The entrance hall of baths gave a width in front of the plinth of about (English feet) 31 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, whole width across pilaster shafts 28 feet $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, height from pavement to top of the cornice that remains at present about 13 feet 7 inches, unless another course of stone existed between Nos. 5 and 6.

I trust I have been able to show that from the fragments brought under review, huddled at present into any out-of-the-way corner or dark receptacle (in which it strangely seems Bath hopes to cause to be forgotten these remains of her ancient grandeur), there is yet sufficient left to enable us to make an almost perfect restoration of two of the architectural works of Roman Britain, and not unworthy of the consideration of the British Archæological Association.

ON THE BRITON, ROMAN, AND SAXON, IN STAFFORDSHIRE.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, ESQ.

LET us abstract ourselves from the Staffordshire of the present, and try to reproduce the moorlands, woods, and meadows of this "mediterranean county" (as Bede calls it) when they were trodden by the feet of Briton, Roman, and Saxon. Let us picture the busy passing to and fro down those great highways, the remains of which are still to be traced in the county, and which intersect each other nearly at right angles, not far from Wall, near Lichfield, where the excavations now begun and to be continued will probably result in a good ground plan of the Roman station of Etocetum. The names of Watling Street and Ikeneld Street are derived, as some think, the former from the Gathlini, the remains of the oldest Celtic inhabitants of Britain, who had been driven to Wales and the opposite coasts of Ireland, and the latter probably from Iken-eld, the old race of the Iceni.

An ancient trackway under the name of *Via Gathlina* is mentioned by Lysons as passing from the east coast of Scotland towards Ireland, the use of which the course of this history seems to indicate (see a paper on Roman roads in vol. xxvii of the *Archæologia, S. A.*)

The camp at Chesterton, near Wolverhampton, with its three lines of ramparts, tells of the struggle between Briton and Roman whether the fort was occupied by one or other of these races, or as is most probable by both in turn. Here in A.D. 59 to 61 the country was all alive to know the

final result of the great expedition of Cæsar's legate Suetonius against Mona (Anglesey), "receptaculum perfugarum," (*Tac. Ann. xiv, xxix*) where the natives headed by their Druid priests had made a stand against the invading force of Romans. We know little more of the then inhabitants of this county than the name of their tribe, the Cornavii,¹ who occupied the counties of Warwick, Worcester, Stafford, Shropshire, and Cheshire. They are mentioned in the *Notitia* of the Western Empire. Ptolemy gives them the two chief towns of Deva (Chester) the station of the 20th legion and Viroconium (Wroxeter, lib. ii.)

Adjoining them on the west in Wales were the Ordovices,—whose chief towns were Mediolanium and Blannogenium (Ptolemy, lib. ii.),—a powerful tribe who had kept up a sharp war with the Romans during the nine years when Caractacus was making his gallant resistance (*Tac. Ann. xxxvi.*) On the north was the tribe of the Brigantes, occupying the whole north country from the Mersey to the Humber, and who gave the Romans much trouble (*Tac. Agric., xvii.*)

Like the rest of the northern Britons these tribes must have been of the old Celtic race, which is the earliest we have accounts of in Western Europe; some of their broad characteristics are unmistakable down to the present day; their language, their round heads, excitable temperament, boldness in action, but with a spirit disinclined to the subordination and discipline necessary for their defence against the long heads who were constantly pressing upon them from the east. The early immigration into the northern parts of these isles flowed naturally from the same shores whence our later invaders came, that is, the coasts of Norway and the Cimbric Chersonesus, or Denmark. We have been too much in the habit of undervaluing the Celtic nations who have been swept away or amalgamated with other tribes without a poet or historian to record their actions; the Druids and bards did indeed transmit their histories from one generation to another by word of mouth; but the Druids, from policy or religion, would not commit their knowledge to writing, and the bards would not from motives of their profession.

¹ The Cornavii, probably so called from *Corn-aii* (chief river), an old British name for the Severn. (Baxter, *Gloss. Antiq. Brit.*)

The family of the Celts, the Cimbri, Gael of Ireland and Scotland, Cymri of Wales, Galli, Galati, of France, Gallaeci of north-western Spain, have transmitted, however, many valuable qualities to their descendants in our own day. The Britons even in Cæsar's time cannot have been merely the painted savages they are generally represented to have been from a superficial reading of Cæsar who himself had a superficial knowledge of them; their history contradicts it, so do even Cæsar's own words. The authors after Cæsar who speak of their own knowledge allude no more to paint or other signs of barbarism. We may infer the Britons to have been in a state of considerable civilization, from their great numbers, "Hominum est infinita multitudo" (*Bell. Gall.* v. xii); from their numerous buildings "creberri-maque, fere Gallicis consimilia" (*ibid.*) and large herds of cattle, "pecorum magnus numerus" (*ibid.*); then we have evidence of their commerce and manufactures. Diodorus Siculus (lib. v. xxii) shows the extent of their trade in tin; Strabo (lib. iv) describes them in the time of Augustus as tolerating the imposition of customs duties on the goods exported and imported to and from Gaul, and mentions some of the articles, ivory bits, torques, amber, and glass vases and other common wares of various kinds. Our acceptation of a British "oppidum" as described by Cæsar and Strabo is a large enclosure, defended by a vallum and fosse in front and a wood in the rear, but these *oppida* seem rather fortified enclosures for the defence of lands and cattle. Such immense multitudes must have had large towns and collections of houses.

Their coins, as evidenced by the copious series of the mint of Cunobeline, have much of the Macedonian type and do not seem derived from Roman models; they show a civilisation long anterior to the invasion of the Romans, and, lastly, the learning of the Druids, who were the instructors of their children, tells of knowledge and written characters and religion of an ancient type. Though the Druids would not commit their mysteries to writing, yet in the ordinary transactions of life they used Greek characters (Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* vi. xiv.) Cæsar, in speaking of the Druids (*Bell. Gall.* vi. xiii) says they were present at public and private religious ceremonies, and were held in much honour. A great number of young people flocked to them for education.

They decided upon public and private wrongs, and were appealed to in case of crime, if a murder had been committed ; and of property, if it was a question of boundary ; they decreed the punishment and the damages. If their verdict was not submitted to, interdiction from the sacrifices followed, which among them was a very heavy punishment. The discipline of their order had its origin in Britain, and is thought to have been carried from hence into Gaul, because Cæsar says that those who wish most thoroughly to know it always go to Britain to learn (Cæsar, *B.G.* vi.)

Why, at the time we are speaking of, was this bitter animosity of the Romans against the Druids ? The Romans had been tolerant of all creeds and friendly to the gods of all nations. An answer may be found in Lucan (*Pharsalia*, i, 453 *et seq.*) who addressing the Druids says, "To you alone it is given to know or to ignore the gods and deities of heaven. If you sing what you believe, then the same soul guides the body in another world, and death is only the medium of a long life. Certainly these people, living under the north pole, are happy in their delusion, since no fear of death, that strongest of all fears, presses upon them, and they are capable of rushing upon the sword and welcoming their end." It was then the exclusiveness of their religion and the hold they had over the minds of their own people, who in contempt of life would fight the Romans to the death, which brought down Roman vengeance upon their heads, but the lines are an impartial testimony to their spirit and their faith. On the other hand the exasperation of the natives was extreme. They had more ferocity than the Gauls, not being yet enervated by a long peace. (*Tac. Agric.* xi.) They fumed under the Roman tyranny, saying they had now two kings over them instead of one, the "legate," who brooded over their blood, and the "procurator" over their property (*ibid.* xv.)

The first visit the Romans paid the Arden was in A.D. 50, under the command of Publius Ostorius Scapula, who had succeeded Aulus Plautius as legate ; he had three entrenched camps on the Avon and Severn, but died, worn out with fatigue and anxiety.

The nine years war with Caractacus (*Tac. Ann.* xii, xxxvi) ended in his being captured and sent a prisoner to

Rome with his wife and daughter as well as his brothers (*id. xxxv.*) He was betrayed by Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, to whom he had fled in his extremity. By taking up the cause of this fickle woman the Romans brought upon themselves another war with Venusius, her husband, to whom she had been unfaithful.

They saved the queen from the fury of her own people, but the injured husband recovered his kingdom, and the Romans were left to pay for a useless war.

We now come to the period before spoken of, A.D. 61, when the people were all excitement about the doings of this very determined pro-prætor Suetonius Paulinus. He had crossed over to Anglesey and found a mixed multitude drawn up on the shore, bristling with arms, and the women with dishevelled hair and clothed in mourning running about with lighted torches. The Druids stood around with hands uplifted to heaven, uttering dire curses, so that the novelty of the scene staggered the Roman soldiers and made them draw back, but the general urged them to the attack with reproof for halting before a band of women and fanatics, and the onslaught was made amidst fire and fury. The sacred woods of Mona were cut down, and a garrison left to keep the conquered in subjection. The Druids, under this name at least, henceforth disappear from the page of history. An extensive common in Staffordshire still bears the name of Drood or Druid's-heath.

The Barbeacon-hill is such a spot as they would have chosen for their astronomical observations and religious ceremonies.¹ The forests of oak with which the county abounded were well adapted to some of their rites ; an old oak in Needwood Forest, which measured twenty-one feet (1818) round the trunk, was a specimen of such a lord of the forest as they would have selected for their confidential communications and prophecies. (*Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. xiii, 1818.)

“Barbaric rites, sinister customs,” says the proud Roman poet (Lucan, *Pharsalia*) ; but how shall we characterise the custom into which the Romans themselves were lapsing of

¹ The “mathematicians”, as the Romans called astrologers, seem to have been popular with Augustus. Tiberius expelled them from the city, but remitted the sentence on their promise to give up practising their art. Vitellius ordered the *scurræ* and “mathematicians” out of Rome. (*Suetonius, Vit. Cæs.*)

erecting temples to their own living emperors, sacrificing to them as gods and keeping up a regular service of priests to hymn their praises!

The Britons in the eastern counties, under their brave queen Boadicea, evinced their hatred of such practices by burning and slaughter at the temple of Claudius at Camulodunum. It was to quell this rebellion that Suetonius was sent for post haste from Anglesey. Tramp, tramp came the 14th with the eagles and standards of the 20th down the Praetorian way, our "regina viarum" through Staffordshire. Verulam had been burnt, London treated in the same manner, and the fight which took place annihilated the 9th legion under C. Petilius, who escaped with his life and cavalry only. Seventy thousand Romans and their allies perished in these engagements. Suetonius, now ten thousand strong, warned by the rashness of Petilius, avoided London, and proceeded through Essex to Camulodunum, where his generalship soon re-asserted the supremacy of Rome. The queen Boadicea had done her best, driving about in her chariot with her daughters by her side, to encourage the troops. "The men," she said, "may submit and be slaves, I, a woman, shall conquer or die." She kept her word and ended her life by poison.

Of this victory Tacitus says (*Ann. xiv. xxxiii.*) that no where else were so many troops of Britons engaged, and with minds so fierce and confident that they took their wives with them to be spectators of their expected victory, and placed them round in their chariots at the extremity of the field. The procurator Catus ran away to Gaul, and Poenius Postumus of the second legion committed suicide because he did not get up in time for the action (*ibid. xxxvii.*)

Many of the peaceable inhabitants fell in with Roman manners and civilization, and aspired to those posts in the towns which were open to the natives. The Roman villas the ruins of which are scattered up and down the country attest the progress of luxury and refinement, but there was always a fringe of the old Celtic element round the northern and western borders. The Ordovices did not submit till Domitian's reign; the Gael of Cornwall, Wales, and Ireland never; the Picts in Scotland, though nominally subdued by Agricola, were secure in their highlands and among their lochs and forests, and were ever ready for a raid on

the southern provinces, backed up by the Scotti from the north of Ireland, with whom they kept up a communication, and who from their superior numbers and greater immunity from Roman aggression ultimately swallowed up the name of Picts and gave their own to Scotland, or the Picts when they gave up their paint may have lost their name of "Picti."

Galgacus is a northern hero, who is called the last to hold out against Agricola. His words are memorable as given by Tacitus : "Romans, whom neither east nor west can satisfy ! To carry off, to kill, to steal is falsely by you called *empire* (*imperium*), and when you have made a desert you call it peace."

No one knew better than Agricola the means of training and civilising the natives by introducing among them the arts and refinements of Roman life. Tacitus says he had often heard his father-in-law (Agricola) declare that Ireland could be kept down with a single legion, "si modo libertas tolleretur", if liberty were only done away with.

From the reign of Severus who died at York, to that of Constantine who was born there, is a period in which Oriental (Syrian) luxury, together with many religious speculations and superstitions, were introduced into the land ; the people were demoralised by their rulers, if we may believe the pictures of Tacitus, and the young men were taken off to distant countries to recruit the Roman legions.

The seven years' reign or usurpation of Carausius, A.D. 287 to 293, gave some life to British history. He gained influence over the Romano-Britons by his skill and courage at sea. A Menapian from the shores of Holland, he taught the natives of those coasts the dangerous secret that naval expeditions could be undertaken with success even against the Romans. The Saxons were encouraged by the example ; "Expectate veni" is a legend on one of his British coins. Whether summoned or only welcomed, when he did come he made himself master of Roman Britain, and the vigour of his administration is attested by respectable witnesses and a large series of his coins. He was murdered by Allectus, one of his own creatures, who assumed the purple himself, but soon met the fate he deserved.

"Securitas reipublicæ," "Ubertas reipublicæ," and other such mottos, which appear on Roman coins during the de-

cline of the empire to advertise the general prosperity, seem rather to point in another direction. When Constantine removed his quarters from Rome to Constantinople, and established Christianity as the religion of the State, we enter upon a new phase of history. A little later, Honorius the degenerate grandson of Theodosius, could no longer preserve his legions in Britain when Alaric and his Goths were at the gates of Rome. Gildas speaks of the groans of the Britons at losing the protection of Rome, but Nennius describes the last period of the stay of the Roman rulers in words which seem to imply they must have been glad to get rid of them, for he says :

“ *Brittones autem propter gravitatem imperii occidebant duces Romanorum et auxilium postea petebant. Roman autem ad imperium auxiliumque, et ad vindicandum veniebant, et spoliata Britanniâ auro argentoque, cum ære et omni pretiosa veste et melle, cum magno triumpho revertebantur.* ”

With the reign of Honorius and the last dying strains of the genius of old Rome sung by the poet Claudian, the first part of my dramatic action is brought to a close. To borrow a simile from the modern stage, the Normas, the Pollios, the Druids and Druidesses, have vanished from the scene. The entre-acte is a long one. We must go to sleep through a century and a half at least, and awake to new actors, new scenes, a new state of society. Britain, the country so eulogised by Eumenius in his well known panegyric on Constantine (cap. ix) as abounding in nature's choicest gifts, has been taken possession of by the race of Saxons from beyond the sea. The origin of their name and race has given rise to interminable discussions ; but after all, the most reasonable solution of the first question is that these hardy Scythians derived their name from the short swords they used, called in their language Saxes or Sachsen (Witichind, lib. i, apud Eccard., *De Origine Germanorum*), and they trace their descent with the Scandinavian nations from a common ancestor, Woden or Odin. Their depredations along the coast had been carried on for years, and the Romans had an officer, the Count of the Saxon Shore, specially to guard the eastern coasts against their attacks.

Theodosius had defeated them, A.D. 368, as related by Claudian (iv *Cons. Honor.* 31-33) :

“Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.”

The old Roman civilization was so corrupted by a long course of wealth, luxury, and immorality, that the influx of these barbarians, as they were called, was a benefit which even some of the Romans themselves could recognize. The remedy was severe, but the Saxons with all their faults were no ordinary barbarians, and their rugged natures soon improved under culture in Britain. Their Saxon laws, their sense of honour among the men and virtue among the women, their speedy punishment of offenders, the vigour of their administration, their wild sense of religion and of reward in a life after death even before they became Christians, and their capacity for self-government, shadowed forth even in those early times the greatness of their future destiny.

A new power had now sprung up, the power of the Christian Church. The abbeys, monasteries, and convents began to form oases in the desert created by the ravages of war. In these quiet retreats religion and the arts of peace could be cultivated under the protection of popular opinion which held them sacred. So popular did these institutions become that the devout generosity of the ladies towards them had to be restrained as far back as Valentinian I, A.D. 370, when by an imperial ordinance the clergy were prohibited from receiving the bequests of women, “a modification more discreditable than any general law could have been,” drily observes Hallam (*Middle Ages*, vol. ii, c. vii.) Gregory, Pontifex Maximus at Rome, was the master spirit of the age, as is shown by his voluminous writings and by the success of his political policy. He must be the regenerator of society, he must revive a Roman “imperium”; and an army of Christian priests and monks among the barbarians shall be the drill-serjeants of nations. The king of the Francs shall be generalissimo of the forces in the north. The plan was wisely carried out and with perfect success. He was not above attending to the minutest details of his plan. He knew that “music hath charms to soothe the savage breast”; he cultivated music, and the church chants still known by his name went straight home to the hearts of at least the better half of

mankind, and Rome could send a thrill into the distant Britain, though no electric wires had then been made to vibrate between one continent and another. The modes of taming the lion were not so dissimilar in the two epochs, whether practised by an *Agricola* or a *Gregory*, and our gratitude is due to both for the introduction of civilisation and the substitution of the mild precepts of Christianity for the bloodshed and terrors of Woden's Hero Worship.

We must be careful in studying the history of these times to separate Christianity pure and simple from political Franco-Romanism, if I may use such a term. We shall thus be able to account for the strong repugnance often shown to Christianity by the rulers of the nations, whilst it met with acceptance by the community who were ignorant of politics.

Penda of Mercia during his reign of thirty years strenuously opposed the introduction of Christianity. He objected to be put into a strait waistcoat, and considered it sufficient to retort upon the Christians whose practice differed from their preaching that those miserable creatures were worthy only of contempt who would not obey the commands of the God in whom they believed.

The events which have happened since the departure of the legions are obscurely told by the monkish writers in times when common sense had gone somewhat out of fashion at least among the writers of history ; the supernatural ruled the day ; the books accordingly were suited to the readers and the readers educated to the books. There must have been some hard heads to write what they saw and knew, but if so their works have perished or have been converted into palimpsests to describe the lives of Saint German or St. Patrick, or the victories of orthodoxy and the story of St. George and the Dragon. We seem to want the lives of the saints written by one not of themselves, and a work by Penda or even an Offa on the events and opinions of the day would be as welcome as the lost decades of Livy. Our history of two centuries, that is the fifth and sixth, must be derived from Bede, who improved upon the wonderful stories of Gildas and Jeffrey of Monmouth, who built upon Gildas and Nennius with improvements of his own. The chroniclers of more recent date give little further information. The Welsh triads and poems, though ro-

mantic fictions, contain wrapt up truths, which with due caution may be made available. After A.D. 410 all is blank for a century. Gildas calls Britain "fertilis provincia tyrannorum," and Nennius gives the names of twenty-eight cities in Roman Britain; from which two authorities it is conjectured that the municipal governments established by the Romans formed centres for numberless petty sovereigns who assumed a command. Honorius addressed letters to the town authorities in Britain telling them to take care of themselves. We know nothing more till the small Saxon kingdoms are planted in Kent and along the south coast, but they have not much to do with our Staffordshire men. The invasion of the Angles under Ida with a fleet of forty vessels of warriors, A.D. 547 (*Flor. Wigor.*) on the coast of Northumbria, brought over the future masters of Mercia and the northern parts of the island. In the meantime fights had been incessantly going on between the white (Saxon) dragons and the red (British) dragons as Roger de Wendover calls them, along the western borders, and the heroic achievements of Arthur the Briton were a fruitful theme for the Welsh bards of the sixth century as they have been for a poet-laureate of the nineteenth. The siege of Caer Badon, according to Matthew of Westminster, took place in A.D. 520, and the death of Arthur at the battle of Camelon twenty-two years later, or in A.D. 542.

The kingdom of Mercia, comprising seventeen counties, of which Staffordshire was one, dates its origin from A.D. 585. "Credda was the first to hold it," says Roger of Wendover; "but it only obtained its complete independence as a separate kingdom under Penda, his grandson, who "began to reign in 626 and reigned thirty winters. He had seen fifty winters when he began to reign." (*Saxon Chron.*)

Thirty years, however, before this event, that is in 596, Gregorius Maximus had taken the first step towards his "imperium" in Britain, by sending over Augustine with very many monks (*Sax. Chron.*) and interpreters of the Frankish nation (*Bede*) to preach Christianity under the approved forms.

He had sent letters not only to the kings of the Franks at Paris, but a special letter to the queen of the Franks, Brunichilda, and another to Bertha (*Bede*) whom he addresses under the name of Adelberga, daughter of Chari-

bert, King of Paris, who was married to Ethelbert, Saxon King of Kent. The king's conversion soon followed, and his daughter Tata being married to Edwin King of the East Anglians, another royal convert shortly swelled the list of tributary sovereigns, through the influence of his wife and of Paulinus, her priest, who had come over with Augustine. Ethelbert reigned fifty-six winters and died in 616 (Sax. Chron.)

Of Christianity in England before Augustine we have no account and but few evidences, though it must have existed in various forms and for many centuries, but all such preaching was, to use a modern phrase, "stamped out." "Mad dogs of the east" (Gildas); "venomous serpents spitting forth their poisons far and wide through the land" (Bede); such are the polite terms used by the orthodox party towards those who differed from them in opinion or doctrine.

Edwin succeeded in subduing all the other Saxon kingdoms except Kent, but met his death in battle with Cadwalla at Hatfield Chase in Yorkshire; Penda of Mercia having united his forces with those of the Welsh king.

Cadwalla was afterwards defeated, but Penda of Mercia became henceforth the man of the day. His warlike propensities made him the terror of the other Saxon kings. In 642 he defeated and slew Oswald, King of Northumbria at Oswestry in Shropshire (Bede). He next attacked (643) East Anglia; and Sigeberth, who had resigned the crown of that kingdom to retire into a monastery which he had built, was drawn from his seclusion to help the reigning monarch to defend their common country; but the two kings were not a match for Penda, who slew them both; and again returned in a few years to defeat Anna, the sovereign who had succeeded them. Penda at last at the age of eighty years perished on the battle field at Winwidfield, near Leeds, A.D. 655, being defeated by Oswy, King of Northumbria, whom he had attacked (Bede.)

The twelve hundred monks living under one roof at Old Bangor, eight miles from Chester, must have consisted in that age of men of various shades of opinion, political and religious, and their library would have been for us a useful record of the times, but Ethelfrith ("superbus et vanæ gloriæ cupidus," Math. Westm.) in 607 came down upon

the Cymri under their King Brocmail. "If the monks are praying against us, they are fighting against us," said he, and killed them all, while their books perished by fire.¹

Peada, son of Penda, became a Christian, having married Alchfleda, daughter of Oswy, King of Northumbria, on condition that he was baptised; but he was assassinated at the Easter festival soon after his father's death. By the preaching of Cedd and Ceadda the Mercians were induced to renounce paganism. (Bede.)

Ethelred of Mercia, on the murder of his queen, abdicated the throne to become a monk of Bardney, after he had reigned in Mercia thirty-one years. (Bede, 704.)

Ceolred of Mercia went to war with Ina of Wessex. At Wodensbury they met; the slaughter was great, the event doubtful. This Ina had a brother Inigils who died in 718, and has become famous as being the ancestor from whom Egbert, Alfred, and the following Saxon kings derived their descent (Saxon Chron.) Ina had the merit of founding a church and school for the Saxon youth in Rome, whither so many of the noble, ignoble, lay and clerical, men and women were at this time in the habit of resorting (Matth. Westm. 727.) It was not before some school for the Saxon youth was wanted, for the learning and schools of the Saxons (Angli) were prohibited in England since the time of Augustine, on account of the active spirit of heresy (assiduos hæreses, ib.) which sprung up with the arrival of these northerners.

Gregory's plant was now growing apace. The school was to be supported by a tax in England of a penny on every family, which went by the name of Romescot.

Ethelbald of Mercia built the monastery of Croyland over the tomb of the pious Guthlac, who had been useful to him in his adversity. The wars between Wessex and Mercia for the superiority continued. A battle fought at Burford in Oxfordshire gave it to Wessex; the golden dragon, the banner of Mercia, submitted to a defeat.

We will now go to 755 when Offa became King of Mercia, by means, it is said, of a blood-stained sword. He was descended from Eoppa, the brother of Penda. He caused

¹ This loss of literature to the world has been considered by some as not an unmitigated evil; and a similar opinion has been held as to the burning of the famous library at Alexandria.

Lichfield to be made an archbishopric in opposition to Canterbury (Math. Westm. 765.) He founded the abbey at St. Alban's and the abbey at Bath. Offa was not always on such good terms with Charlemagne as when the latter was sending him presents of a belt, a Hungarian sword, and two silk palls (*duo pallia serica*). With the pope Offa was a little refractory. Offa's dyke, the trench and rampart of which are still to be traced, was constructed by him from the Dee to the Wye, to shut out the Britons of Wales from his borders, which had been extended at their expense. The work was known as the Clauddh Offa. He seized East Anglia, and died in 794, after reigning forty winters (Sax. Chron.), extending his kingdom not a little, for he reigned over twenty-three shires (Roger de Wendover). Offa's daughter Eadburga married Brihtric, and this lady on the death of her husband went over to France to Charles, the great king of the Franks, carrying over many gifts ; but promoted to be an abbess in France she did not behave so well as a lady abbess should do, and ended her life miserably in Pavia, where she was seen begging her daily bread in the streets.

The bold Northmen, who were the terror of quiet Christian subjects in the eighth and following centuries, are well exemplified in the character of Ragnar Lodbrog (Leather-breeches.) Son of an enterprising Norwegian and of a Danish princess, he received the advantages of as liberal an education as the countries of his two parents could afford. "A life on the ocean wave" was considered the proper career for younger sons of Northmen, whilst the eldest succeeded to the landed estates. The younger sons thus came in for a large share of moveables appropriated by the fortune of war to their own use, together with the honour and glory attaching to these appropriations. A good haul from the Saxon shore and the rich abbeys of Deira, Bernicia, and Mercia, with the plunder of a county town or two, would be the making of a family in this world and a qualification for admission in the next to the hall of Walhalla, where the All-Father would supply abundant drafts of mead out of the skulls of defeated enemies, and in company of heroes admitted there from the time of Woden downwards. This Ragnar was dreaded in Saxon England as much as he was in France, for we find

him in 845 penetrating to the walls of Paris. His exploits are too many to recount here, but at last he met his fate in a contest with Ella, King of Northumbria, 862-867. His death song, for he was a poet as well as a warrior, is partly given in English in Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i, p. 475, and Mallet, Intro. to *History of Denmark*. He was captured and a cruel death awaited him, vipers were to sting him till he died. His death-song says, "the day of battle was ever as charming to him as his wedding day, and he hoped that the valiant youths, his sons, would forsake their repose for him to avenge his fate." "I die without a groan." "We desire this end." "The hours of my life glide away, but laughing I will die," etc. The sons proved themselves worthy of such a father.

Egbert, the only living descendant of Cerdic, succeeded to the throne of Wessex, A.D. 800, having been called out of France, where he had been living on intimate terms with Charlemagne. Malmsbury says of him, "Regnandi disciplinam a Francis acceperat." His lessons in state-craft enabled him to obtain an influence over the other Saxon kingdoms. He defeated Beornwulf, King of Mercia, 823, in a battle at Wilton, but five other kings are mentioned in succession as reigning in Mercia before it ceased with Ceolwulf to be a separate kingdom when the Northmen in 874 possessed it. Alfred afterwards recovered and united it to Wessex.

Egbert was not so successful against the Northmen as he was against his own countrymen. They invaded the very year of his accession and never ceased to molest him (Roger de Wendover.) His son Ethelwulf succeeded in 854. He forwarded the Roman "imperium" another step, by registering "a tenth of his land over all his kingdom for the honour of God and for his own everlasting salvation." The same year he went to Rome and was resident there a twelvemonth, and Charles, King of the Franks, gave him his daughter, whose name was Judith, to be his queen. "After this he came to his people and they were fain to receive him"; but about two years after his residence among the Franks he died, and his body lies at Winchester. (Sax. Chron.)

The fact is he was virtually deposed and had to retreat to the Franks. During the next two reigns nothing but

disasters occurred to the Saxon kingdoms. Ingwar and Ubbo, the sons of Ragnar Lodbrog, reigned in Northumbria from the Humber to the Tyne after taking forcible possession ; they then came down upon York, defeated Ella, and by putting him to death with cruel torture revenged their father's death in true Lodbrog fashion. They passed into Mercia, and wintered at Nottingham, then overran the country, wintered in 874 at Repton, where they destroyed the monastery,¹ the mausoleum of the Mercian kings, and put an end to the Mercian kingdom, which had existed two hundred and eighty-nine years, with a line of twenty-one sovereigns in succession from Creodda to Ceolwulf.

Roger de Wendover gives the names of religious houses destroyed by the Northmen at this time, Croyland, Thorney, Ramsey, Peterborough, where Ubbo slew the abbot and all the monks with his own weapon, Ely, and a convent of nuns formerly very celebrated.

The reign of King Alfred, who succeeded his two elder brothers on the throne, is full of stirring events, but it must be passed over briefly as it is so well known.

He was connected with Mercia by marrying Ealswitha, daughter of a Mercian nobleman. His career at first seemed hopeless from the great power of the Northmen. His sagacity taught him to construct a good fleet. "He gave orders for building long ships, which were fully twice as long as the others. Some had sixty oars, and they were both swifter and steadier, and also higher than the others. They were not shaped either after the Frisian or Danish model, but so as he himself thought they would be most serviceable (Saxon Chron.)".

He met with great success against the Northmen. Not only was he a hero and a warrior but a scholar, as testified by his works. His education, assisted by the pious solicitude of Judith, his mother, was not only good, but truly orthodox. He was twice at Rome. The Saxon characters in writing which up to this time seem to have been much like the Runic used by the other northern nations, were now changed to the Roman characters, except a few letters ; but such is the merit of the Anglo-Saxon tongue that it has held its own against Latin and Frankish influences to the pre-

¹ Repton Church and Priory are fully described in the *Journal*, vol. vii, p. 263, by Mr. Gordon M. Hills.

sent day, and after a thousand years has at last been considered worthy of a professor's chair at one or more of our universities.

Edward the elder had the Danish wars left on his hands by his father Alfred, and Staffordshire is the county where two memorable battles were fought, where the Saxon Nemesis prevailed, and retribution overtook the valiant sons of Ragnar Lodbrog. At Wodensfield A.D. 911 they fell; two earls and nine nobles of the pagans died at the same time. (Florence Wigor., Roger de Wendover.)¹ At Teotenehle the Danes were also defeated in a famous battle (Florence Wigor.)

A personage now appears upon the scene, who is called by the chroniclers the lady of Mercia, Ethelfleda by name, a sister of Edward and daughter of the great Alfred. Her husband was governor of Mercia in the reigns of Alfred and Edward, and he died in A.D. 912. His widow remained in command. She was a woman of masculine mind and had great influence over the king, her brother. She made her authority respected both in war and peace, and was as much at home at the head of her troops invading Wales, capturing a queen there, and seizing the town of Brecon, as she was in the hunting-field, with hawk and hound pursuing the "wildeors" in Cannock Chase in company of her Mercian huntsmen. In A.D. 913, coming with a large army to Strengate (Sceargate, Saxon Chronicle) she built there a fortified castle, and on the eastern shore of the river Severn, in a place called Bregges (Briega, Saxon Chronicle) now Bridgnorth, restored an other. In A.D. 914 she restored the borough of Tameworth and then proceeding to Stamford, on the northern shore of the river Weilond, she repaired a tower. In A.D. 916 she built three towns, Cherinberick, Weadberick, and Runcofa (Cherbury, Weddesborough, and Runckorn). In A.D. 919 she died, "Insignis prudentiae matrona, octavo anno ex quo sola regnum Merciorum strenuo justoque rexerat moderamine." (Roger de Wendover.)

The quarrels between the monks headed by the famous

¹ Some think that the cross standing in the churchyard of St. Peter's, Wolverhampton, was erected in memory of these battles, or of those who fell in them, and imagine they discover the dragon of Mercia depicted in the grotesque carvings which surround its circular shaft; or the Christianised Danes may have erected it in after years over the graves of their countrymen.

Dunstan, and the regular clergy, which had waxed warm under Edwin and his queen, continued to rage in the following reign of Edward the Martyr. The governor of Mercia turned out all the monks (Ingulph, *Malmsb.*); the governor of East Anglia supported them. Many tumults ensued. The clergy seized the monastic possessions, which they distributed to the governors in return for their protection. (Turner's *Anglo-Saxon*, ii, page 272.) Elfrida opposed Dunstan, she joined the party of the clergy and endeavoured to bias the minds of the great in favour of her son Ethelred. Edward the Martyr was stabbed in A.D. 978, and the same year the Northmen invade, again to be met by a king Ethelred, who was surnamed the Unready. Matthew of Westminster calls him a king made for going to sleep. "Rex pulchre ad dormiendum factus." Olave Tryggva's son, King of Norway, and Sweyn, King of Denmark, came over in 1004 with ninety-four ships. A general massacre of the Danes through England took place, and Ethelred made Edric, a man of low birth, Duke of Mercia in A.D. 1007, an event of some importance in its consequences.

The king had to pay £48,000 and divide his kingdom with the Danes. King Sweyn died in A.D. 1014, and king Cunute came over, who took Mercia and the northern districts. At the death of King Edmund Ironside in A.D. 1017 Canute took the whole government and divided it into four parts. He seized Edward and Edmund, children of the late king. One died, the other married Agatha, daughter of Henry the German emperor, and their issue was Edgar Atheling, who appears in a future reign. The two sons of Ethelred were sheltered in Normandy. Canute's policy was to please the church. He died at Shaftesbury in A.D. 1035, and men chose his son Harold to be king over all, and forsook Harthacanute, because he was too long in Denmark.

Harold,¹ for his swiftness called Harefoot, the Danc, died in 1040, and his corpse was dug out of the earth and thrown into the river of Thames by his revengeful half-brother

¹ He was son of Canute by a concubine, Alice of Hampton (Wolverhampton), "a shoomaker's daughter, affirming himselfe to be sonne of Canutus and Alfinga, the Earle of Northampton's daughter." (Stowe's *Annals*, ed. 1631; and his authorities, Peter de Icham, Marianus, Floriaceus.) I am indebted for this reference to Mr. Parke of Wolverhampton.

Harthacanute who succeeded him. (Stow's *Annals*, ed. 1631, and his authorities.)

Edward the Confessor, a Saxon, came to the throne in 1043 (Saxon Chron.) He married Editha, daughter of Earl Godwin, and therefore sister of Harold the future king. It will carry me beyond my subject to treat of the intrigues which culminated in the battle of Hastings. Edward took many Normans from France into his favour. Robert, a Norman, was made Archbishop of Canterbury. He, however, was exiled in 1052, on Earl Godwin's reconciliation. The same year "they outlawed all Frenchmen, who before instituted bad laws, and judged unrighteous judgments, and brought bad counsels into this land" (Saxon Chron.) and this happened the year after William the Norman had visited England.

Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and Siward, Earl of Northumberland, appear to have taken the popular side. Edward the Confessor departed this life. Harold was only brother-in-law to the late king and son of Earl Godwin, who rose from a private station. His claim to the throne, therefore, was none of the best, but he was in possession, and his energy and personal courage made him popular. His wife was daughter of the Duke of Mercia and sister to the Duke of Northumberland. His enemies, however, were too much for him ; though he defeated Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, at Stamford-bridge in Yorkshire, he had more formidable enemies within his own camp in the south.

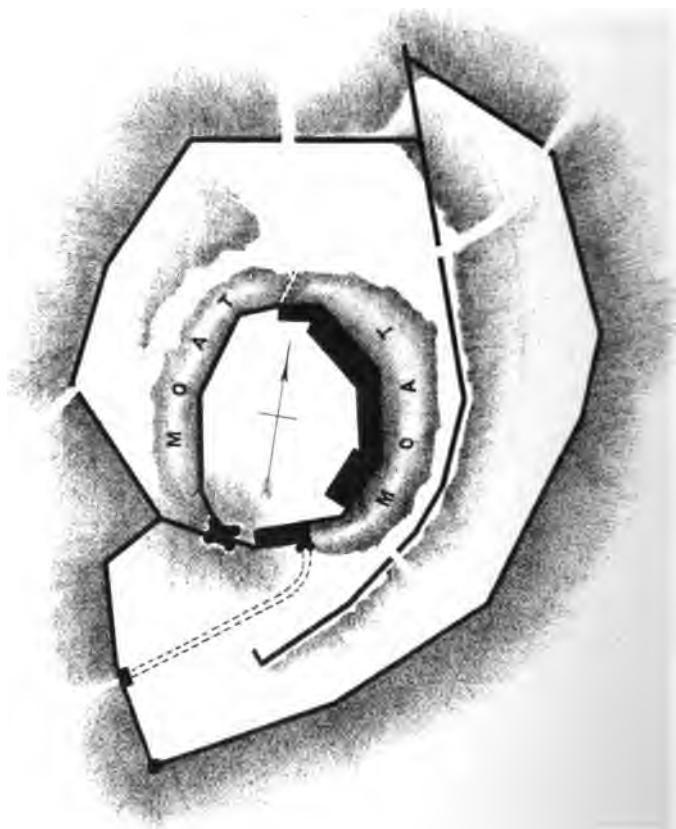
The Saxon tree, which had sprouted and was taking root like the thorn staff of St. Joseph in the garden of Glastonbury Abbey, was not strong enough to withstand the southerly gales. St. Joseph's staff grew to be a tree, blossomed and continued to blossom. Aaron's rod swallowed up all the others. The battle of Hastings was a grand *coup d'état*. The crowning of Gregory's edifice was accomplished, and England submitted to martial law.



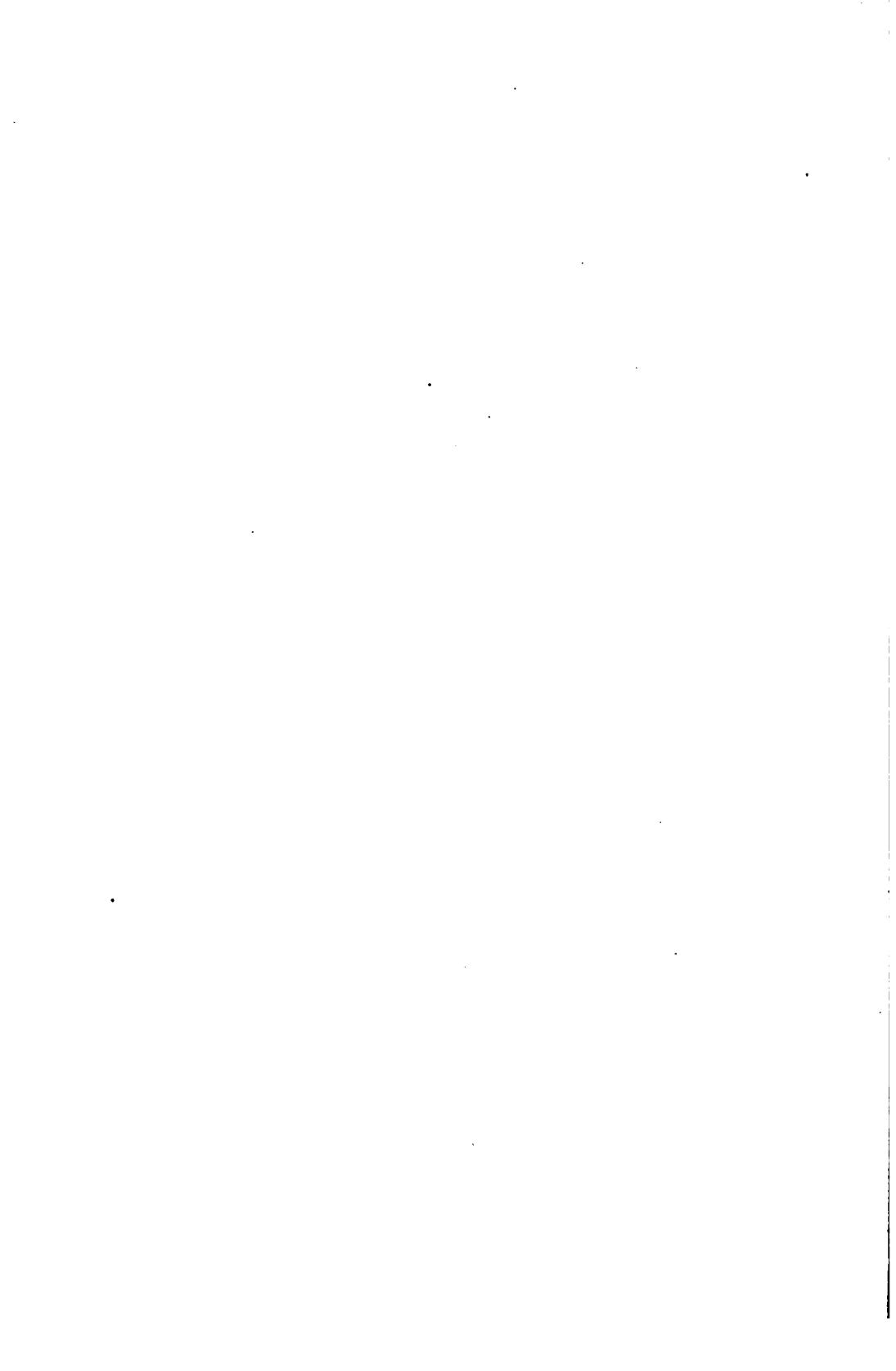
DUDLEY CASTLE

Stafford

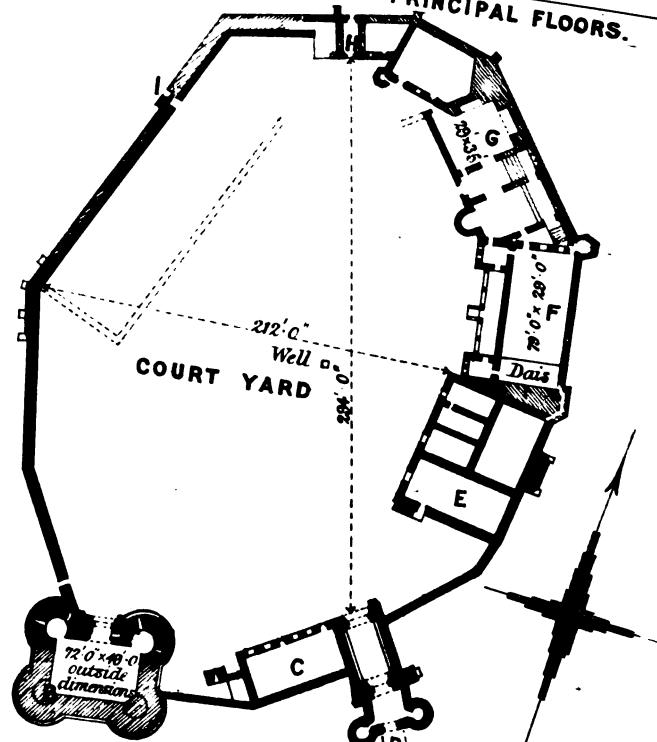
Scale of Feet
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 Feet



BLOCK PLAN SHEWING EXTERIOR WALLS.



PLAN AT LEVEL OF PRINCIPAL FLOORS.



Reference
denotes 13th Century work.
 - 14th & 15th
 - 17th
 " buildings " very much
 dilapidated

- A Outer Gate
- B Keep
- C Guard House
- D Gateway
- E Cellars under Chapel
- F Hall
- G Kitchen
- H Gate
- I Sally port

DUDLEY CASTLE
Stafford.

Scale of Feet.
100

0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160 180 200

DUDLEY CASTLE, STAFFORDSHIRE.

BY EDWARD ROBERTS, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

FOR a castle of this magnitude and importance it is remarkable how few incidents of great interest are connected with it, and how much is hidden in obscurity. Its line of lords is well known, but the history of those lords never rises above the ordinary life of the time, and there is little to tell of a romantic turn. Its foundation is doubtful—a certain DUD or DODO, of the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century, having had the credit of fixing on the spot for defensive works.¹ Those works have been described always as “a castle,” but at that period, we now know, it is more than likely that earthen mounds and entrenchments, assisted by stockades, comprehended the whole of the military works. Suffice it to say that we know nothing accurately until FITZ ANSCULPH (sometimes erroneously written Avsculph) was its possessor in 1085 or 1086, when that portion of the Domesday Book was written. Even of him we know nothing else, except that he held numerous manors: and it is a mere conjecture that a daughter of his espoused Fulk, son of Ralph Paganel; but from that time all the lineages seem clear. It is also clear that whatever may have been the previous structures, whether destroyed in the twelfth century or at any other period, nothing is visible which indicates an earlier date than the latter half of the thirteenth century.

There always has been a confusion with regard to the county in which this castle should be reckoned. The Domesday Book places it in Worcestershire. The ordnance maps (agreeing with Leland² and Camden³) accurately place it on a tongue of Staffordshire invading a detached portion of Worcestershire, in which latter the town itself stands.

Taking, then, Domesday Book as indicating that the *manor* of Dudley was in Worcestershire, and that its castle, referred to in that record, was, as it is still, in an adjoining and sur-

¹ Camden (Gibson's edition) seems to be the only authority for this statement (fo. 634).

² *Itin.* vii, pt. i, fo. 36.
1873

³ P. 627.
53

rounding county, we gain the information that the famous Earl Edwin had held at least the manor, and perhaps the castle also, whatever that castle was. The Worcestershire *Domesday* gives as follows :—

“TERRA WILL’I FILII ANSCULFI IN CAME HUND’.

* * * * *

“Isd’ W. ten’ DVDELEI . & ibi est castellu’ eius. Hoc M’. tenuit comes Eduinus. Ibi I hida. In d’no e’ I car’ & III uill’ & x . bord’ & un’ faber. cu’ x car’. Ibi II serui & II leuued’ silue . T. R. E. nal’b’ IIII . lib’ . Modo III lib’.”

I must refer to Shaw’s account of the Lords¹ as that which seems to be substantially accurate, and although he gives no references to authorities, I so accept it.

Before taking a survey of the ruins, we may usefully refer to the history anterior to the existing structures. Shaw says (without quoting authority) that the fortifications which Dud raised continued until the time of *Domesday*. The choice of the spot is singularly happy; a natural “back” of rock rising almost perpendicularly on either side, with the head steeply inclined, indeed more so than in any castle I remember, and with abundant means of defence on the more gently sloping fourth side, by which, through the “park”, it could only be approached without almost insuperable difficulty, would seem naturally to mark it as a site for outlook and command; but in addition to this, whether fortuitously or by design it is impossible to say, it occupies a position at the junction of some important roads as old at least as the Roman times.

It appears that the natural strength of this inland cliff has been increased by the artificial formation of a double vallum nearly all round. The approach from the town, up the head of the promontory, is difficult, steep, and winding: and an enemy would have to contend with missiles delivered with unusual advantage by the defenders.

I pass over the question of a castle previously to the Paganel’s time, when it becomes certain that Fitz-Paganel was in possession (however acquired) of the manor and castle: no date can be assigned to this acquisition.

Fulk, dying, was succeeded by his son Ralph, who died before he could fulfil his purpose of founding a monastery near the castle. This act of charity was performed by his

¹ *Hist. Staff.*, vol. ii, pp. 138-146.

son Gervase, who granted a charter before 1161. This it will be seen was seventy-six years after Ansculph's tenure, and there had been four lords, Ansculph, Fulk, Ralph, and Gervase: twenty years before Ralph had taken arms in favour of Maud; Gervase also espoused her cause, and a year or two before that date the Castle was held against Stephen. Gervase appears to have been inclined to rebellious proceedings; for we find him in the field in favour of Prince Henry against Henry II, which led to the Castle of Dudley being demolished by order of the king. He does not appear to have been dispossessed of his manors, for he was enabled to pay 500 marks fine in condonation of his treason. If it was the same Gervase who attended the coronation of Richard I, he must have been of a good age, for in 1138 he was holding the castle for Maud, and if we allow him to be thirty years of age at that time, he must have been eighty-two at the coronation; or was it a second Gervase?

He left as heiress an only daughter, who married John de Somery, whose son Ralph appears to be in possession in 1194-5, and it seems doubtful whether John ever possessed it, for Ralph is described as paying 500 marks for livery of "the Barony of Gervase Paganel."

Ralph died about 1210 leaving William, a minor, to succeed him, who again was followed by a son in his minority, Nicholas; and he, dying without issue, was succeeded by his uncle Roger de Somery, to whom we must attribute the building of the keep and other earlier parts of the present castle. He had failed to obtain the king's licence and was prevented (46 Henry III) from continuing to convert his manor house; thus we have pretty clearly the date 1262 for the futile commencement, and two years later (when he had apparently condoned his offence¹ by joining the king against the rebels) he had a licence to castellate. He had not much time for this; for he was the same year taken prisoner at Lewes. He died in 1273, and was interred in Dudley priory.

Of his works the principal gate, the keep, part of the chapel-buildings, and sundry portions of the walls of the domestic buildings, and the walls of the inner bailey remain. (Pl. 16.)

¹ He appears as in official capacity for the King, 48 Henry III (Dec. 1263). *Vide Rot. Pat.*, m. 18.

Of the gatehouse, the barbican or foregate inclines to the left on entering, indicating the former line of approach; the turrets contained stairs leading down to subterranean chambers, as was made visible through the kindness of Earl Dudley and his representatives in excavating there, and in other parts wherever I expressed a wish that it should be done, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging the courtesies shown to me and the Association. There are here indications of subways, probably leading to the outer gate.

On each side of the gateway were guard-rooms, and a fireplace existed within the gateway, and benches lined the sides of the inner portion.

A door, minus a portcullis, closed the outer entrance. There are no remains of any bridge, but probably much alteration has taken place in the formation of the ground.

The inner part of this gateway had two doors, one on each face, interior and exterior, and two portcullises. There is the usual chamber over, but the access to it is lost; it was on the interior face with external steps leading to a doorway which still exists. At a little distance to the right on entering the court-yard is the substructure of the chapel, a vaulted set of chambers applicable to storeage: this lower part is probably Roger's work.

The keep stands at about a similar distance on the left hand. It is a parallelogram flanked by four circular towers, in three stages, besides roof and cellars. Two of these towers only remain, and of these one has been reconstructed in the upper part about a century since.

No separate apartments appear to have existed, and seclusion was effected by curtains across recesses. There is but one main staircase, diverging into two on the upper story, with two other stairs of one flight, within the towers, from the ground story to the principal floor. The present approach is probably entirely modern. The steps descending to the sally port appear to have been within a covered way.

Following Roger, were two others, son and grandson of the same name, both dying under age and without issue, and then came a second grandson, John, who appears to have also died in 1342 childless, so that the manors were divided amongst his sisters. One of these, Margaret, had

Dudley manor assigned to her, and she, marrying John de Sutton, the castle became vested in that family, and as this is about the period where additions and alterations are evident, it seems probable that the Edwardian fever wrought the change here as in other places, from the cold, cheerless, but strong and highly defensible buildings, to those more beautiful, luxurious, and spacious residential additions, such as we see at Ludlow and other castles of the fourteenth century.

It will be easily seen where the massive earlier mode of building gave way to the lighter method. The original hall, probably a much smaller room, has made place for an immense chamber, approached by a handsome wide flight of stairs, and a gallery across an intermediate chamber. The spacious and commodious kitchen had its hatch opening on to the lower part of this approach communicating with the lower end of the hall. The storehouses were under this part of the hall, and the cellarer's department at the opposite end.

Notwithstanding the varieties of castles and the diversity of their buildings, it is remarkable to find how generally they resemble each other, and even ecclesiastical coeval works. Here in this hall we have the triple doors at what we may call relatively the west end, with a fourth door in the angle for the service from the kitchen as just mentioned. The means of retiring at the east end are also similar to others, and the cellarman served by a tortuous passage and stairs to the east end only, and one is reminded of its counterparts at Coventry and Mayfield. There is also the overlooking window, a feature continued down to the seventeenth century.

That the dais was raised above the floor of the hall is visible to every eye; there is however no evidence of a minstrel's or other gallery, nor is there indeed at Mayfield.

The chapel is said to have been in the building over the cellars behind the dais. There is some probability in this belief, for there are several means of access, both internally and externally, and a west window of the fifteenth century is high in the sill and has every appearance of being fit for such a purpose. The northern gate was protected by a drawbridge over the moat. From the left of this building a covered way exists (and is probably ancient) between the

walls as far as the sally-port on the north-east, from which, along the east wall, a similar covered way, already referred to, is said to have run.

Along the east wall buildings formerly were, and corbels attest the fact of a heavy roof having been supported by struts. A large fireplace farther south also shows that the covered accommodation did not terminate with the corbels.

The well in the middle of this *Ballium* has the first 20 feet of it built square, it is said to be 140 feet in depth, and is always nearly full.

Outside this court is, on the east, a double fosse, and then the *Ballium* enclosure, and beyond that an unapproachable acclivity. Similar fosses, single or double, extend all round. It is very difficult to follow these several *Ballium* walls, but I think I succeeded in tracing them all from fragments here and there, and in laying them down in the accompanying map (Pl. 15). The castle has three times undergone the severe trial of fire, but not always accompanied by the sword. It withstood a siege of three weeks in 1644 until relieved, and was afterwards holding out for the king, being the last which surrendered, which it did to Sir Wm. Brereton on the 13th of May, 1646, when the works were dismantled; and it was not until it had again passed into another family (by marriage of the heiress, as had happened twice, perhaps three times before), that of the present Earl Dudley's ancestors, that it became reoccupied. It was by them that the chambers (usually called stables) immediately on the left of the great gate were erected, as well as the terraces and approaches outside the great hall, and the other alterations, such as staircases within old walls, the insertion of doors and windows, and in what was termed "beautifying." Deserted by its owners, it became the resort of a gang of coiners, who eventually and effectually destroyed it in 1750 by setting it in flames. We may fancy the recesses and hiding places in the extreme northern buildings, near the north gate, to have been used by those persons to conceal their productions. The castle and grounds are now, by the liberality of Earl Dudley, used as a place of recreation and promenade, and a hope may be reasonably entertained that what is left will be well cared for and properly preserved.

Proceedings of the Association.

26TH NOVEMBER, 1873.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following members was announced :

John D. Webster, Esq., 21, Church Street, Sheffield
 John Daniel Leader, Esq., Okeburn, Broomhall Park, Sheffield
 W. Fisher, Esq., Norton Grange, Sheffield
 Charles Anthony Branson, Esq., Heatherleigh, Sheffield
 Joseph Fawcett, Esq., 16, St. James' Row, Sheffield
 John Evelyn Stacye, Esq., Shrewsbury Hospital, Sheffield
 — Woodcroft, Esq., Sheffield
 Arthur J. Owen, Esq., 117, New Bond Street, London
 Public Library of Victoria, *per* Mr. J. Baines, 1, Haymarket,
 London.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Society, East India Association, for Journal, vol. vii, Nos. 1 and 2. 8vo. London, 1873.
 " " Society of Antiquaries, for Proceedings, vol. v, No. 7; vol. vi, No. 1. 8vo. London, 1873.
 " " Royal Archæological Institute, for Journal, Nos. 116, 117, 118. 8vo. London, 1872, 1873.
 " " Royal Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland, for Journal, 3rd Series, vol. i, No. 8; 4th Series, vol. ii, Nos. 13, 14, 15. 8vo. Dublin, 1873.
 " " Cambrian Archæological Association, for *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th Series, Nos. 15 and 16. 8vo. London, 1873.
 " " Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for Proceedings, vol. ix, Part I. Small 4to. Edinburgh, 1872.
 " " Smithsonian Institute, for *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xviii. Folio. Washington, 1873.
 " " Sussex Archæological Association, for Collections, vol. xxv. 8vo. Lewes, 1873.

To the Society, Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, for Mémoirs de la Société. Nouvelle Série. 8vo. Copenhagen, 1872.

“ “ The Numismatic Society of Belgium, for notice “*Sur le Temple du Jupiter Capitolin d'après les Médailles.* 8vo. Brussels.

“ “ The Antiquarian Society of Wirtemberg, for “*Jahreshefte des Wirtenbergischen Alterthums Vereins,*” vol. ii, Part I. Imperial folio. Stuttgart, 1873.

To the Author, Charles Golding, Esq., for Suffolk Early Tracts. Small 4to. London, 1873.

To W. H. Chisholm, Esq., Warden of the Standards, for Seventh Annual Report of the Warden of the Standards for 1872-73. 8vo. London, 1873.

To G. A. Cape, Esq., for History of Erith by Rev. Charles John Smith, M.A., late Archdeacon of Jamaica, Vicar of Erith. 8vo. London, 1873.

Mr. Thomas Morgan read “Notes on Earthworks at Castle Hill, near Almondbury and Laughton-en-le-Morthen,” in reference to the proceedings of the Sheffield Congress in August. They will be printed in a subsequent volume of the *Journal*.

Mr. Stephen Isaacson Tucker, *Rouge Croix*, exhibited a medallion in silver-gilt (Plate 17), known to connoisseurs as the “*Phœnix Badge*,” the property of Lady Hancock. This medal is supposed to have been struck in 1574, the apprehension conveyed in the fulsome and exaggerated laudation of the inscriptions seeming to have reference to the safety of the Queen from the plague then raging. It was worn attached to the George, or collar of SS, by the immediate favourites of Elizabeth; and probably ranked as a special badge then, as the “*Victoria and Albert Order*” now does. There was formerly something pendent to it; but of this no trace has been found in any of the known examples, two of which are in the British Museum, and one in the Hunter collection at Glasgow. In the British Museum is also a *gold* ornament formed of the *Phœnix* portion of this badge, surrounded by an enamelled border of red and white roses. Round the head of the Queen is the enumeration of her titles, etc., in Latin, and an outer reading as follows:

“*Hei mihi quod tanto virtus perfusa decore
Non habet eternos inviolata dies.*”

On the reverse are the crown and E. R., and Elizabeth's badge of the *Phœnix*, with this inscription:

“*Felices Arabes mundi quibus unica Phœnix
Phœnicem reparat depereundo novam.
O miseros Anglos mundi quibus unica Phœnix
Ultima fit nostro, tristia fata, solo.*”

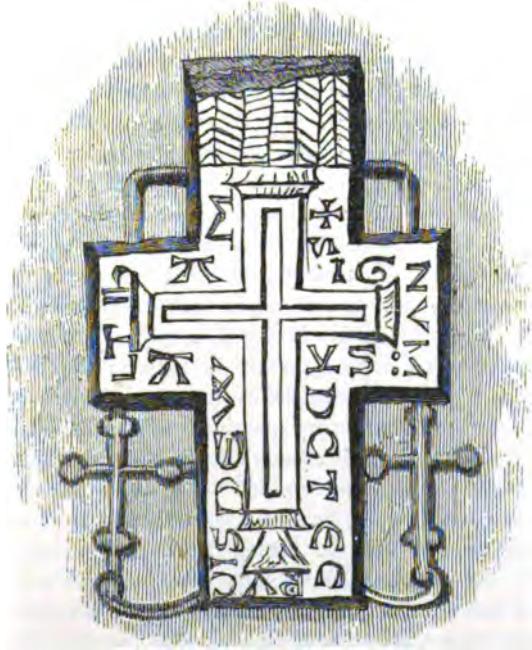
PLATE XVII.





The medal has been engraved in the *Medallic History of England*, Pl. vii, fig. 8; Perry's *English Medals*, Pl. v, fig. 3; Van Loon, *Hist. Métallique du Pays Bas*, vol. i, p. 558; and in Köhler, vol. xxi, p. 225.

Mr. W. S. Horner exhibited the following objects found in Coleman Street:—two tiles, one of a very remarkable character, showing a portrait (upon which the Chairman said that he would make some remarks at a future meeting), the other with the figure of an owl,—both early sixteenth century. Stone mould for an early twelfth century religious badge, with the legend, *SIGNVM SANCTE CRVCIS DE WALTHAM*, of which a woodcut is annexed. Metal casts from this were probably worn by



votaries to the shrine at the celebrated Abbey of St. Cross at Waltham in Essex. A triangular delft-ware salt-cellar, seventeenth century. A bone skate. Various Roman bronze and English silver coins, and some Nuremberg tokens.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., exhibited two hobnailed soles of sandals attached to "uppers" of probably the fifteenth century.

Mr. Cuming thought that the upper and lower parts had been united quite recently, and said he felt pretty confident that he could, were he so inclined, mention the name of the individual who had united them.

Mrs. Baily sent for exhibition several knives, upon which the Chairman made the following observations:

"We have before us a very curious series of knives, ranging in date
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from the Roman era down to the seventeenth century, all of which were exhumed in London about the commencement of the present year. The group includes a variety of types, and consists of—Roman *culter* of steel, the blade, haft, and *annulus* at the end wrought of one piece of metal five inches and three-eighths in length. This fine specimen belongs to the class mentioned at p. 191 *ante*, and is probably an example of the *culter coquinaris*, for suspension at the girdle of the cook. In the British Museum is a knife of similar kind, stamped with the maker's name, OLONDVS. F.—Three Anglo-Saxon *seaxes* of iron, of the type met with in Teutonic graves, etc., having thick-backed, pointed blades, and long flat-sided tangs. They measure respectively five inches and three-eighths, six inches and one-eighth, and six inches and a half in length.—Anglo-Saxon *seax* with pointed blade, the tang passing through the wooden haft and rebated at the end. Length, six inches and a half. This specimen is in excellent preservation, and the presence of its handle renders it of much interest and rarity. There are in the Cuming collection two *seaxes* of different shape, which retain their wooden hafts. They were both found in the Steelyard, Upper Thames Street.—Two Anglo-Saxon *seaxes* of most peculiar and rare form. Their convex-edged blades gradually widen from the haft-sockets to near the points, and their backs are straight and rather thick. They each measure five inches in length.—Exceedingly delicate knife, five inches and three-quarters in length; the haft being surmounted by a little tabernacle, the centre of which was probably once filled with ivory or some more precious substance. Date, fifteenth century. Elegant knife with brazen spirally fluted haft surmounted by an ornament like a bud, surrounded by a quadripartite calix. The steel blade has lost its end; but the specimen still measures six inches and three-eighths in length. Date, fifteenth century.—Knife, six inches long; the broad, pointed blade mounted with a brazen haft of unusual and tasteful design. The flat-sided grip is open in the centre to permit of some kind of setting, and calls to mind the relic-knife engraved in this *Journal*, x, p. 89. Above the grip is a perforated disc surmounted by a somewhat vase-shaped knob. Date, fifteenth century.—Two penknives with pointed blades, and hafts of ivory. The earliest is of the time of James I, and measures four inches and three-quarters in length, and has at the butt of the handle a neatly turned ball. The other, also of the seventeenth century, measures five inches and three-eighths in length, and has a plain haft.

“Some of the seventeenth century penknives had conical points projecting from the butts of their ivory hafts, wherewith the quills were slit up; and of these Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited two examples recovered from the Thames in 1847, near the site of old London Bridge. A penknife with a point at the end of its haft is shown in the portrait of the famous writingmaster, George Shelley, engraved by Bickham in

1709 ; but before this time the distinct point began to disappear, the whole haft being made conical. This latter fashion was also illustrated by Mr. Cuming, the most recent specimen produced being the ivory handle of a penknife employed in the East India House *circa* 1800, and having the Company's mark graven on one side,—a now all but forgotten ensign, possessing an historical if not an archaeological interest."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming then read the following communication on effigies of St. Etheldreda :

"The name of St. Etheldreda has been so often heard during the celebration of the Ely Cathédral Anniversary in October last, that it may be of some interest to cast our eyes upon her effigy, and see how this virgin bride was delineated by the mediæval artists. At times, as, for example in the lantern columns of Ely Cathedral, she is represented slumbering beneath the blossoming boughs of the tree which grew out of the staff she planted in the earth when flying southward from the Priory of Coldingham in Berwickshire ; but in general St. Etheldreda appears as an abbess, in an ecclesiastical habit, her chin partially buried in the white linen *barbe* or plaited neckcover, holding a book in one hand and in the other a more or less richly designed pastoral staff, the place of which is occasionally supplied by the foliferous staff, as in the little pilgrim's *signum* engraved in our *Journal* (xxiv, 221).

Etheldreda was born at Exning in Suffolk, *circa* 630, and the first effigy to describe is in her native county, viz. at Blythburgh, a few miles from Southwold. Some time since Mr. Watling, in visiting the church there, spied out in the south window something like a figure, and after cleaning off a thick crust of dirt and whitewash with which the glass was encumbered, was enabled to take the tracing which I now submit for inspection, and which exhibits St. Etheldreda with a considerable air of dignity, well suited to the daughter of King Anna, and wife of King Egfrid of Northumbria. Though in abbatial costume she wears a golden crown to indicate her royal descent and alliance, and surrounding her head is an aurated nimbus. Her outer vesture is blue, that beneath red. In her right hand she supports a square object which may be a closed book laid sideways on her palm, and in her left is the pastoral staff with a gracefully turned head. This effigy is probably of early fifteenth century work, and is of much interest, as the saint in question does not very often occur in painted glass, but another instance may be seen in the window of Norbury Church, Derbyshire.

Both Suffolk and Norfolk were well supplied with representations of St. Etheldreda. In the former county she still appears on the rood screens at Sudbury and Westhall ; and in the latter upon those of Bungay, St. Andrew ; Gateley, Oxburgh, Ranworth, and Upton.

Our second figure of Etheldreda is a reduced copy by Mr. Watling of one painted on the retable or reredos in Ranworth church, and which differs entirely in attitude, and varies much in detail from the

foregoing. The saint is here shown seated, holding with her left hand an open book, which rests upon her knees. The right hand supports the pastoral staff, the volute and its fillet being of rich and elegant design. Her golden crown and nimbus are also of far more elaborate and ornate character than those accompanying the saint at Blythburgh, and her under garment seems to be composed of the same sort of gorgeous florid stuff with which the Apostles appear to be clothed on the famous Southwold rood screen, which is believed to have been painted *circa* 1460, to about which period the pictures on the Ranworth reredos may be safely assigned.

On the screen at Gateley in Norfolk is depicted a female saint with a most woeful expression of countenance, habited in a grayish-black hood and mantle, white linen barbe, golden under-garment, and red slippers. In her right hand is the pastoral staff, and in her left an open book, the lower edge of which she presses against her bosom for support. A simple disc of yellow paint constitutes the nimbus, and the *tout ensemble* of the figure forms a strong contrast to the two effigies we have been considering. She seems to stand on a hexagonal plinth, on the edge of which is inscribed the following in rubricated letters, SCA ADRIA, which latter word is accepted as another form of Audrey, Audley, and Auldry, which are corruptions of Etheldryth, Etheldritha, Etheldreda, and Edilthride, as the saint's name is variously written. This Gateley figure is of elongated proportions, being close on eight heads high, and is altogether of poor execution compared with the paintings on the screens at Ranworth, Cawston, Barton Turf, and North Walsham, and of rather later date than either, it being the work of *circa* 1480. Mr. Watling's kindness enables me to lay before you a coloured copy of "St. Adria."

St. Etheldreda, in spite of her open contempt for the divine command given in *Genesis* (i, 28) and her little heed of cleanliness, as recorded by Bede, has retained a certain amount of popularity in East Anglia for the last twelve hundred years, and her festival was wont to be celebrated on each recurring 17th of October, by a fair held in the Isle of Ely, whereat lots of gaudy trash was sold, and among other things *tawdry laces*, which are alluded to by Shakspeare in the *Winter's Tale* (iv, 3), and in an old ballad, where we are told—

"One time I gave thee a paper of pins,
Another time a *tawdry lace*,
And if thou wilt not grant me love,
In truth I'll die before thy face."

Those who desire to read a brief summary of Etheldreda's career will find one in our *Journal* (xxiv, 221), and a more extensive biography is furnished by Bede (iv, 19), whose superstitious admiration for the fair lady led him to compose a "Hymn" in her praise, which borders close on blasphemy, and in which he takes occasion to say:—

“ Etheldrida, pure from sensual crime,
 Bright shining star! arose to bless our time.
 Born of a regal race, her sire a king,
 More noble honor to her Lord shall bring.
 A queen her name, her hand a sceptre rears,
 But greater glories wait above the spheres.
 What, man, wouldst thou desire? See, Christ is made
 Her spouse; her blessed redeemer weds the maid.
 While you attend the heavenly mother's train,
 Thou shalt be mother of a heavenly reign.
 The holy maid who twelve years sat a queen,
 A cloister'd nun devote to God was seen.
 Noted for pious deeds, her spotless soul
 Left the vile world, and soar'd above the pole.
 Sixteen Novembers since was the blest maid
 Entomb'd, whose flesh no putrid damps invade.
 Thy grace, O Christ! for in the coffin's found
 No tainted vest wrapping the corpse around.
 The swelling dropsy, and dire atrophy,
 A pale disease from the blest vestments fly.
 Rage from the fiend, who whilom Eve betray'd,
 While shouting angels hail the glorious maid.
 See! wedded to her God, what joy remains,
 In earth, or heaven, see! with her God she reigns.”

Mr. Gordon M. Hills read a paper by Alfred Wallis, Esq., “ On some Prehistoric Remains near Sheffield, beyond the Derbyshire boundary,” which will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*, and upon which remarks were made by Messrs. Grover, Hills, Levien, Morgan, and the Chairman.

10TH DECEMBER, 1873.

GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced:—

Bernard Wake, Esq., Sheffield.
 Hugh Ford Crighton, Esq., 1, East Parade, Sheffield.
 J. E. Davis, Esq., Sheffield.

Thanks were returned for the following present:—

To the Society of Antiquaries for Proceedings. Second series, vol. v, No. 8. 8vo, London, 1873.

Mrs. Baily contributed a miscellaneous group of objects of various dates and materials, exhumed in London about the commencement of the present year; and of which the following are selected for description:—Ring of red terra cotta, about two and one-fourth inches in diameter, and rather over one-fourth in thickness. This well made, perfect *annulus* is no doubt one of a pair which swung within the *ansæ*

of a Roman vase, in the manner shown in Akerman's *Archæological Index*, pl. xi, fig. 97. A vase in which similar rings are imitated on the sides of the vessel is engraved in our *Journal* (iv, 375). The specimen produced is the first of its kind noticed as a London discovery. Fine and perfect example of a Roman *spatha* or spatula of bone, five inches and five-eighths in length. One surface of its paddle-shaped blade is slightly convex, the other slightly concave, and the pointed haft is spirally fluted throughout its length. In the Cuming collection are bone and ivory spatulae, the blades of which are nearly flat on either side. These implements were probably employed at the toilet for unguents. For metallic *spathæ* see pp. 69, 309 *ante*. Roman *volsella* of steel, seven inches and a half long, of delicate fabric. The limbs are straight and very narrow, and the handle provided with an *acus* or point at the end. Roman *volsella* of steel, five inches in length, the limbs have somewhat ovate clips, and the opposite extremity is pointed. Both these tweezers are of rare type and seem to appertain to Roman chirurgia, of which relics have already been noticed at page 310, *ante*. Tweezers of yellow bronze, four inches and five-eighths long. The straight limbs are in-turned at their ends; and towards the upper extremity of the instrument, on either side, is a little projection or shoulder to afford a firm hold to the operator. The material and some circumstances connected with the discovery of this fine and well preserved specimen, would seem to indicate it to be of Roman origin, it may however be of less ancient date. Disc and chain found together, and both wrought of the same kind of bright golden coloured thin sheet bronze or brass. The disc is two and one-eighth inches diameter, and has a peg in the centre of the dos nearly one and a half inch long, by which to fix it as a stud ornament to some article of attire. The chain is composed of two lines of intertwined pyriformed links made of very narrow strips of metal, and is a rare and beautiful example of Teutonic workmanship. Badge or stud of pewter, one and three-eighths inches diameter, with the sacred initials I H C, in low relief in the centre, surrounded by a broad border. On the dos is the remains of a pin or peg for attaching the object to some portion of religious habit or ecclesiastical furniture. Date fifteenth century. Spoon of pewter, the hexagonal handle surmounted by a lion *sejant*, and the pyriformed bowl stamped with the maker's mark, apparently the letters s r beneath clasped hands. This interesting example is of the time of Elizabeth. For other spoons of this era, see *Journal*, xiii, 253.

Miss Barrow forwarded for exhibition some strings of garnet beads, a portion of a rich carcanet traditionally stated to have belonged to Queen Elizabeth, and which has been in the possession of her family from time immemorial. A few years since a thief stole a good part of this royal necklace, so that the number of beads originally employed in its construction cannot be even guessed at. The examples sub-

mitted are of remarkably fine colour, approaching the pyrope in hue, the natural faces of the crystals being left as far as possible untouched, and where cutting was indispensable the original planes of the crystals have been followed. These beads are formed of the variety of garnet known as precious and oriental, and called almandine by Karsten, the finest specimens of which are brought from Pegu, Ceylon, and Brazil.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following remarks on Garnets:—

“The garnet (so called from its similitude in hue to the seeds of the pomegranate or garnet apple) is first mentioned by this familiar name in the writings of Albertus Magnus, who lived in the thirteenth century, but the gem under other designations was well known to the nations of antiquity. Under the title of *Bareket* (the lightning flasher) it appears as the third jewel in the first row of settings in the breast-plate of the Jewish High Priest. (*Exodus*, xxviii, 17.) The Greeks termed it *anthrax*, the Romans *carbunculus*, which literally means a glowing coal. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii, 25) describes twelve varieties of the carbunculus, but seems to include under this head not only the spinelle and oriental rubies, but some other stones of different colours. He speaks of the carbunculi found at Orthosia in Caria being cut and polished at Alabanda, and of those of India being of a size to admit of hollowing out and making into vessels capable of holding as much as one sextarius, or well nigh a pint. And we learn further from the same author (xxxvii, 26) that carbunculi were counterfeited with great exactness in glass, a statement verified by discoveries made on ancient sites.

“Garnets do not appear to have been employed for ornaments by the Greeks to near the same extent as they were by the Romans. During the Imperial rule fine intagli were wrought on carbunculi to set in finger-rings, and beads fashioned out of this gem were strung as necklaces.

“Garnets are used as settings in some of the early Irish fibulae; and the Merovingian graves of France, and Teutonic barrows of England, have yielded many fine examples of brooches and other trinkets set with polished slabs of garnet and garnet-coloured paste. And the ruddy gem and its vitreous ectype continued to be employed for jewelry throughout the middle ages, special medical and talismanic virtues being attributed to it. Butler, citing Encelius, says that the garnet, if hung about the neck or taken in drink, much assisteth sorrow and recreates the heart.

“Vessels wrought of single garnets were valued not merely on account of the great size of the gem, but further from the medicinal virtue they imparted to the liquor placed in them. It is not very often that crystals occur which could be hollowed out to hold a sextarius, but rhomboidal dodechedrons are occasionally met with exceeding a human fist in bulk.

"A curious notice of a huge garnet or *carboncle* as he calls it, is made by our credulous old countryman Sir John Mandeville in his *Voiage and Travaile* (ch. 22) performed in the reign of Edward III. He tells us that the 'Grete Cham bathe in his chambre, in one of the pylers of gold, a rubye and a charboncle of half a fote long, that in the nyght zevethe so gret clartee (brightness) and schynynge, that it is als light as day. And he bathe many other precyous stones, and many other rubyes and charboncles, but tho ben the gretest and the most precyous.' Mandeville was not the only one who believed that the carbuncle shone in the dark, for we find the following in Sir Hugh Plat's *Jewel House of Art and Nature* (London, 1653, p. 222). He says 'a carbuncle stone is of the colour of fire. It hath many vertues, but chiefly prevails against infectious air. The best of these stonnes will shine in the darknesse like a burning coal.'

"Garnets of all sizes were held in great esteem during the sixteenth century, at which time caskets, drinking cups, dagger-hilts, and many other costly articles were enriched with the favourite gem. In an inventory of Queen Elizabeth's clocks and watches, printed in our *Journal* (xx, 352) occurs this entry, "Item, a little watche of golde, th' one side with a frogge on the topp, th' other side garnished with small garnets like a pomegranate."

"When the necklace became a prominent adornment among ladies of rank during the Tudor dynasty, beads of real and fictitious garnets were much in request, and may be seen depicted, with other gems and pearls, in the portraits of royal and noble dames of this period. The *carcanet*, as the necklace was then called, is conspicuous in many of the pictures of good Queen Bess by Elstracke and other artists.

"The ponderous and elaborate carcanet dwindled down to a single row of beads soon after the advent of the Stuarts, but, strange to say, it was revived in all its cumborness at the accession of George III, when it was denominated an *esclavage*, garnets figuring largely in its construction, as they did likewise at this time in the simple *solitaire*, and in the aigrette, ear and finger rings, brooches, buckles, and studs.

"Garnet ornaments occur among the rich trinketry in the Portland Museum, sold in 1786. Thus in the catalogue (p. 192) mention is made of—'One garnet engraved head ring.' 'One superfine sprig, rose diamonds, garnets and chrysolites.' 'A hollowed garnet,' and 'An Assyrian garnet.'

In the *Companion* to the Leverian Museum (p. 76) we read of 'A snuff-box formed of a large Bohemian garnet. A snuff-box formed of a mass of garnets in the matrix from the convent of Gotwind in Austria, and a snuff-box formed of a mass of garnets in their native bed of green mica from Saxony.'

"The garnet, or its imitation in paste, stands for the letter G in the *Regard Rings* which came into vogue some forty years since, and many of which it is to be feared have outlasted the sentiment they were intended to convey."

Mr. Loftus E. Brock exhibited various objects from Queen Victoria Street and Cannon Street, discovered between 1870 and 1873. They consisted of Samian ware and bronze and bone implements, with regard to which Mr. Roberts said he thought that many similar finds might have come from the ancient bed of the Walbrook.

The bone implements comprised, *inter alia*, a spear head, the tip of an ox horn, probably unwrought, although it is possible that it may have been employed as a pin. The bronze were, a priestess of early Etruscan work, (which Mr. Cuming thought it was very doubtful whether it was part of the actual find) a votive rudder of a ship; the end of a belt with hook for suspensory purposes; keys of the fifteenth century; chain with a toret at the end, sixteenth century. There were also numerous fragments of Samian pottery.

Mr. George Wright exhibited a Flemish brass tobacco-box, seventeenth century, the property of — Reynolds, Esq., with scriptural texts in Dutch, pictorially engraved as a rebus in a manner similar to that of the hieroglyphically illustrated Bibles of a later period. The texts are Isaiah i, 2, 3, and Ecclesiasticus xxi, 2, 3, 4.

Mr. Cuming read a paper on Mr. Horner's tile, exhibited at the meeting of 26th November last [see p. 421, *ante.*] The paper will be printed and the tile figured in a future number of the *Journal*.

The Chairman read a paper on "A Stone found at Sea Mills," by Dr. McCaul, which is printed at p. 317, *ante.*

Mr. Grover referred to his remarks on Pre-Augustine Christianity in Britain (*Journal*, vols. xxiii, pp. 221-230, and xxviii, 217-220, and said that he must certainly enter his protest against the notion that Spes was the name of a person. He entertained no doubt that it meant "hope," and expressed a religious sentiment. This was an additional proof of the monument having been a Christian one, and in proof of this he cited a somewhat similar stone with a pediment which he had seen at Cologne, and on which there was an inscription considerably defaced, but which he had read as follows:—

LEONTIUS HIC JACET. FIDELIS PUER. DULCISSIMUS PA[T]RI. PIENTISSIMUS
MA[T]RI. QUI VIXIT ANNOS VIII. MENSES III. ET DIES VI. INNOCENS FUNERE
RAPTUS. BEATUS MENTE. FELIX ET IN PACE RECESSIT.

After a discussion, in which Messrs. Hills, Roberts, Cuming, and Levien took part, it was agreed to defer further consideration of the subject until some remaining portions of the stone should be produced, which might, it was hoped, throw more light upon the questions at issue.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 323.)

SATURDAY, 10TH AUGUST.

THIS morning a party of about fifty members of the Association and others left Wolverhampton for Dudley Castle. Before proceeding to the ancient fortress they were formally received at the Public Hall by the Mayor (Alderman Bagott) and the members and officers of the Corporation. His Worship observed that he gladly welcomed the party to the ancient town of Dudley. He and the Town Council felt honoured by the visit of so learned a body; and if at any future time it should be decided to have an annual gathering in Dudley, they would do their best to entertain the Society, and to receive the members in such a manner as would give them satisfaction.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills said that they were greatly indebted to those officers and authorities of the different towns who were good enough to give attention to their proceedings, for through the interest which was thus manifested many documents and many places were open to them which might otherwise be inaccessible. It was only just to the numerous corporations they had visited to say that they invariably met with the utmost attention and courtesy, and it would appear that his Worship the Mayor of Dudley and the Town Council had determined to show that there should be no exception. They were very grateful for that special attention; and as to the invitation which had been offered, he would observe that it would be exceedingly gratifying if circumstances should admit of their accepting it. It was not, however, likely, having just been in the neighbourhood, that that would occur very soon; but the offer was a valuable one, and the Association would take care to bear it in mind.

At the close of the proceedings in connexion with the reception, the party were conducted through the Geological Museum, which is very valuable in some departments, the specimens generally being well selected and arranged. Here the neighbouring coal-field is represented by a series of specimens which are amongst the finest in the world.

Upon leaving the Museum the company proceeded to the grounds of the Castle, and the Priory ruins were first inspected. Here Mr. E.

Roberts pointed out the most noticeable features of the structure still remaining, viz. the detached windows and arches, and the principal walls of the chapel, with its western doorway pointed and beautifully carved. He directed attention also to the stone coffins near the outer walls,—the one eight feet long, cut in the form of a body; and the other in a ruder shape, like a trough. A stone effigy, too, was noticed, which is reared against the wall, with its hands uplifted in the attitude of prayer. In passing from the Priory to the Castle, Mr. Roberts commented on the strong and impregnable position of this relic of the feudal ages; and upon arriving at the court-yard read a paper upon it, which is printed at pp. 413-418 *ante*.

Before leaving the court-yard, the Mayor thanked Mr. Roberts for his paper, after which a vote of thanks was passed by the visitors to Mr. George Taylor (Earl Dudley's estate agent) for the treat which had been afforded all present.

The party were then conducted through the extensive and interesting underground caverns, which had been specially illuminated for the occasion, and their varied and beautiful proportions were fully revealed. The visitors were delighted with what they saw in these vast galleries, which owe their formation to the excavations for the Silurian limestone. Here the late Sir Roderick Murchison was some years ago crowned "King of Siluria" by the Bishop of Oxford (the late Dr. Wilberforce) in the presence of some ten thousand spectators.

On the motion of Mr. Roberts a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. E. Fisher Smith (the principal mine agent of Lord Dudley), who had permitted the caverns to be opened.

Mr. Harold Smith responded, and said that his father, who was prevented from being present by important engagements, would be glad to hear that his efforts to please had been appreciated.

Upon leaving the caverns, the members of the Association proceeded in waggonettes to Stourton Castle, where they were entertained by Mr. Collis and his family, and where Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., read a paper on "Cardinal Pole and his Birth." The members were shown a sleeping-apartment, where it was maintained that the Cardinal was born, and over the doors of which there were carvings which were said to be portraits of this celebrated ecclesiastic.

On their way home Holbeach was halted at, and a chimney pointed out in which the Guy Faux conspirators concealed themselves before their arrest.

In passing through Wombourne a brief call was made at the Wodehouse, where the party were received by the proprietor, Captain T. R. Shaw Hellier, 4th Dragoon Guards. It may be stated the family of De la Wodehouse settled here in 1193. The half-timbered part of the house dates from about 1552. It was cased with brick about the year

1680, was added to in 1720; further modernised in 1795 by the Rev. T. Shaw Hellier, M.A.; and is now being judiciously restored by Captain Hellier. A fine collection of old English and oriental china was exhibited in the music-room, as well as the "Huntbach MSS." and miniature portrait of John Huntbach, the nephew and pupil of the celebrated antiquary Sir W. Dugdale, "whose style and manner", Shaw says, "he closely copied"; also some fine oak bedsteads, one of the Elizabethan period; and a large Chippendale china-cabinet.

On leaving Wodehouse the party returned to Wolverhampton, where the visit of the Association was brought to a most appropriate conclusion by a *conversazione* at the Town Hall, wherein the Mayor (Alderman Joseph Ford) entertained the members of the Congress, the Corporation, and a party of invited guests, numbering upwards of three hundred, and including many of the *élite* of the town and neighbourhood. The Town Hall was decorated with excellent taste, and in a style that was most effective. The great circular vestibule, with its statue of the late Mr. G. B. Thorneycroft (first Mayor of Wolverhampton), was the reception-room, being carpeted with crimson cloth, and fitted with rich drawing-room furniture, chairs, and couches, in crimson and amber. On the walls around were several choice paintings within a bordering of evergreens arranged in festoons, so as to show off the fine architectural proportions of the Hall to the best advantage, whilst numbers of rare plants and fragrant exotics filled in the corners on the floor, and also extended along the corridors both on the ground and upper floors. The Council Chamber and the Quarter Sessions Court were similarly decorated, the walls being hung with pictures, and the corners and other parts of the room occupied with groups of plants; while about the table in the Council Chamber were a number of books and engravings for the amusement of the guests. In the Sessions Court was stationed the band of Mr. French Davis of Birmingham, who during the evening performed a selection of music. In the vestibule and in one of the lower corridors were stands of refreshments of a most *recherché* character; and the Town Clerk's Office had been converted into a temporary cloak-room. The objects sent for exhibition, requiring table accommodation, were displayed in the two large Committee Rooms and in the Mayor's Parlour on the upper corridor, whilst one or two of the smaller ante-chambers were set out as refreshment rooms.

The varied collections in the different rooms, of pictures, articles of *vertu*, and many rare curiosities, kindly lent by different gentlemen in the town and neighbourhood, formed together an exhibition of no mean order, and such as one rarely has the opportunity of seeing in a town so devoted to the more practical works of the present day as Wolverhampton.

In Committee Room No. 1 the walls were adorned with several small but very choice paintings lent by Messrs. Banner and Son, the well known dealers in art-treasures, of New Street, Birmingham. The same firm had also lent the principal portion of the oil-paintings hung around the walls down stairs. Some other of their contributions were likewise shown in this room, consisting of exquisite specimens of china and pottery ware of the Dresden and Blue Gresdel-Flandres type, and ancient Staffordshire manufacture. A very remarkable double-handed vase attracted much attention; and the firm had also sent a hookah, which was interesting as having been the property of Lord Byron. Mr. W. Molyneux of Burton exhibited some Roman remains and some very curious implements in stone and bone. Lieutenant-Colonel Bag-nall had sent an interesting collection of Roman pottery found in the excavations at Wall; and amongst them was a piece of slate with a nail through it,—a pretty strong proof that the Romans used slates for roofing their houses, and had iron nails for fastening them, just the same as we ourselves do in the present day. The churchwardens of West Bromwich parish church had sent a number of pieces of ornamental stonework and other fragmentary portions, apparently from a church of the twelfth century, and which were found in the early part of last year whilst digging out the foundations for the restoration of the church. Included in this collection was a number of small tiles of the twelfth century, and which were remarkable as having on each of them a letter of the alphabet, evidently burnt in, and of a colour somewhat paler than the body of the tiles themselves. Other tiles shown were of the ordinary character of the fourteenth century, with incised designs. In this department of ancient earthenware a very fine cinerary urn of large dimensions was especially noticed. A pipkin of the sixteenth century, the lid or cover of a Romano-British domestic utensil used as a strainer for liquids, and an Etruscan lady's "dressing-tray," were also shown. It had doubtless been taken from one of the Etruscan tombs, which were largely pillaged by the Romans, and the Vatican is rich in antique treasures of this kind; but this is, perhaps, the only specimen in England, and it is unfortunately broken. Coming to another portion of the exhibits, there were some specimens of manuscript Bibles and Prayer and Service Books of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among them was a small Bible written in extremely minute characters, and on the finest vellum, but bearing no date. There was also an "Office Book" or "Book of Little Hours," most beautifully written and illuminated, of the fourteenth century. Near to the specimens of Roman and Etruscan pottery was a curious collection of ancient locks and keys exhibited by Messrs. Chubb and Son. One key of the seventeenth century, had been found in June 1856, during excavations within the Tower of London. Among

the other curiosities were an Indian padlock, a wooden lock from the Faroe Isles, a curious Chinese padlock, an old German lock, a bunch of monster keys dredged out of Loch Leven, Scotland, and an old Indian padlock, curiously shaped to represent the mythological Hindoo bird Garuda, the carrier of Vishnu. Other specimens were also shown, illustrative of the progress of lock-making from the earliest ages to the more complicated mechanism of modern times, and comprising ancient Saxon, Russian, and German locks and keys. Mr. J. W. Baily, of London, had sent a valuable and rare collection of ancient spurs, keys, and leather work, tastefully ornamented, and consisting of sheaths for knives and daggers, found in the Fleet Ditch, London. The skeleton remains of knives, with wooden handles attached, in a good state of preservation, considering that they had also been buried for ages in the bed of the old Fleet Ditch. Near to these was a rust-cankered specimen of the twelfth century, of a straight-handled sword which had been dug up at Lillebonne, in France. A couple of earthenware platters, evidently by some native artist, and bearing, by way of ornamentation, a portrait of "The Duke of Yorke," attracted considerable attention. Nearly opposite, on the same table, a collection of Wolverhampton steel chain work, of most delicate workmanship, dating from 1750 to 1780, brought vividly to the imagination the days of our grandfathers, when shoe buckles and watch chains of that material were the objects of solicitude in personal adornment. They were shown by Mr. C. B. Manders, and the name of the maker was given as "W. Naylor." A small though fine collection of seals and wax impressions of seals, exhibited on this table, were interesting, as including amongst them the old chapter seal of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Wolverhampton. The seal is of an oval shape, exhibiting under two canopies the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, the former with his keys, and the latter with his sword, each holding a book of the Gospel, and robed in stole and chasuble as officiating priests. Below this appears a representation of the Dean, his hands being clasped as in prayer, surmounted by five heads, which are supposed to represent the Prebendaries. Around the border of this quaint old seal runs this legend in old English characters, SIGILLVM CME CAPITALI DE WOLVERHAMPTON, "CAPITALI" probably misspelt for "Capituli." There is no date to the seal. For more than half a century it has been in the possession of the family of Mr. George St. Barbe, of Lymington, Hants, until a few years ago, when through the good services of Mrs. Stevens, wife of the Vicar of Wednesfield, and a niece to the gentleman above named, the seal was obtained and handed over to the custody of the Rector and Churchwardens of St. Peter's. Amongst the pictures on the walls of this and the adjoining rooms we must not omit to mention some photographs of old views in Wolverhampton, by the Messrs. Noyes, and some remarkably

fine sketches of ancient houses and buildings in Staffordshire and Shropshire, by A. E. Everett, of Birmingham. Mr. E. Viles, of London, contributed some very good photographic views taken by him of the White Ladies, Boscobel, Longbirch, and Chillington.

Passing on to the second committee room, the table here was covered chiefly by a number of large-sized photographs—some of which were also hung around the walls—of old English and foreign seals, being taken from the series of *British Museum Photographs*, lately published under the direction of C. Harrison, Esq., with the sanction of the trustees. They were exhibited by W. de G. Birch, Esq., who made some remarks upon the seals in the course of the evening; also a number of beautiful specimens of the copying of tiles by Mr. Holliday, of Birmingham, from the originals at Hales Owen Abbey. The tiles themselves are of the dates 1277 and 1298, and they are said to be exactly similar in design to a set found at Chertsey Abbey, and bearing the ancient legend of Tristram and Isoult, and subjects from *le Mort d'Arthur*. But the most interesting to the lovers of the antique in this room were, undoubtedly, two exceedingly rare and choice specimens of Renaissance work in silver—one the framework of a mirror, and the other a drinking cup. The cup was of silver gilt, with a crystal centre, and was presented in the reign of Queen Elizabeth by Lady Harris to Tong Church. It is now used as a chalice. It is a magnificent specimen of the chased work of the period. At first sight it presents somewhat the appearance of a "monstrance" used in the Roman Catholic Church for holding the consecrated wafer of the Eucharist, or of a "reliquary," the body of the cup being of crystal, well raised on a beautifully chased foot or pedestal, and furnished at the top with a silver lid. After a careful examination, however, by members of the Association, the Rev. G. Duckett, and others, the general conclusion come to was, that it was always simply what it is now used for, viz., a drinking cup, and that it had never been designed for the purpose above mentioned. On the summit of the lid a raised stem or handle remains, from the top of which some ornament has been removed, apparently the crest of some former owner of it. The cup was exhibited by Lieutenant Horman Fisher, one of the wardens of Tong Church, and who is the owner of the mirror. This likewise gave rise to considerable discussion, several persons being inclined to the opinion that the upper and lower portions of the exquisitely worked silver frame, had also in this instance formed part of an ancient monstrance or reliquary. The supporting stand and top originally came into the possession of the father of Mr. Fisher, who had them united by a bordering designed to encompass a small mirror. The lower part of this curious object, which rests on a solid square base, displays two figures of angels with outstretched

bodies supporting between them the framed mirror, which was thought to occupy the place of the original crystal casket, in which some kind of precious relic was perhaps contained. The upper portion represents a figure either of St. Francis or St. Bartholomew, holding in one hand a small crucifix with the figure of our Saviour,—and in the act of being carried to heaven by angels. Opinions differed as to what these upper and lower portions had formed part of, in the first instance, but all united in admiring the richness of the workmanship. Among other curiosities on the same table were a tri-coloured rosette, worn by the late Mr. Hincks during the French revolution of 1792; and a very beautiful specimen of a Venetian tazza vase of the early part of the nineteenth century was exhibited with Etruscan vases and a model of the temple of Tivoli, lent by the Ven. Archdeacon Moore; while near the entrance of the room was hung an Egyptian papyrus, the property of Miss Hincks.

Mr. J. T. Burgess of Grassbrooke Lodge, Leamington, exhibited twenty-one metallic moulds made from original impressions of foreign seals in the possession of Mr. Watkin of Leamington. The following is a short list of them with their legends, some of which are very indistinct and doubtful.

Ecclesiastical.—1. “S. prioris eccl'e S. Vit. Piliama.” Full length figure of a saint. 2. “+ Sigillum loci puloinici.” Full length figure of a saint with a staff. 3. Virgin and Child seated. “S. fr'i. Andree. p'bri. ordin. S. Andree. d. l.” 4. “+ S. presbiter petri plebē d' carpeido.” Ecclesiastic giving blessing with both hands elevated. 5. Ecclesiastic adoring a saint. “+ S. p'bri petri S. Anastasie d' nepe.” 6. Ecclesiastic adoring St. Peter. “S. antoni arep'ri ecl' S'ci petri d' people.” (See *Journal*, xxviii, p. 73.) 7. Two figures adoring the Blessed Virgin and Child under a canopy. “S. conventus S'ce Marie d' ispida.” 8. Virgin and Child between two saints under a canopy: in exergue, bishop adoring. “S. fr'is andree dei gra' ep'i colonen.” 9. Virgin and Child seated under a canopy: in exergue, a figure adoring. “S. angeli p'bri S'ce Marie magoris d' urbe.” 10. Sigillum domine nostre in Cyteren (? *Cirisano*, in Italy). The B. Virgin and child under a very fine Gothic canopy.

11. Seal Laurentius Roverelle, Bishop of Ferrara, A. 6. 1460-1476.

Secular.—12. “S. matri tederici ALLEORINI ivd'.” 13. “+ S. odonis caraleri anagnie.” 14. Shield of arms, three escallops. “S. B'nardi d' arlotes.” 15. Three bars: a lion in chief. “+ S. Anbroxii filius patavini.” 16. St. Mark's lion, half length. “S. Nicolai Barbadico comitis Tragurii.” 17-21. Miscellaneous shields of arms, thirteenth to seventeenth century.

After all the objects had been sufficiently seen and admired, Mr.

Gordon Hills read Mr. Holliday's descriptive paper of his drawings of the Hales Owen Abbey tiles. The writer first gave a list of the drawings as follows :—

No. 1. Four subjects from the Tristram series, viz. (a) Isoult bringing Tristram to her father, the King of Ireland, after he (Tristram) had slain the Dragon. Isoult displays the dragon's tongue on the end of a staff. At Chertsey was found another medallion forming part of the subject, and representing the King of Ireland seated receiving Tristram. (b). King Mark. The subject to which this belongs is uncertain. The king's hand is mutilated—but he appears to be throwing down his glove as a gage of defiance. (c). Isoult in boat harping. (d). Tristram harping in presence of Isoult.

No. 2. Large pattern made up of four tiles, with a blank circle in the centre surrounded by a band of grotesque animals.

No. 3. The same mould, with the omission of the circle and the substitution of an inscription for the grotesque animals, and enclosing a circular tile representing Nicholas Abbot, of Hales Owen (1277-1298) who laid down the pavement.

No. 4. Border tiles enclosing a representation of Roland relating to King Mark the story of Tristram's birth. King Mark is on another tile.

No. 5. Half of a large square pattern composed of four square tiles. Circular tile (half the full size, *i. e.*, half-linear) Tracings of two fourteenth century tiles not from Hales Owen.

No. 5. Four large square tiles. The two upper ones forming part of a series of Christ and the Apostles. Each of the figures on the lower tile on the left hand is impressed from the same stamp.

Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10. Various tiles.

No. 11. The only portion of the Hales Owen pavement which was found *in situ*. The drawing is to a small scale. This portion occurred at the west end of the nave, and seems to show that (there at any rate) the tiles were arranged in three or four wide bands or stripes running from east to west, each band being divided into rectilinear compartments, some made up of black and yellow, and others of figured tiles. The compartment of figured tiles is curious as showing the extreme irregularity with which they were laid. They appear to have been put down just as they came to hand, large tiles being mixed up with smaller ones, and no attempt being made to place together four tiles when that number was required to make a complete pattern.

The paper then proceeded as follows :—

“ One of the most interesting circumstances in connection with the tiles is the fact that many of them are made from the same moulds as some of those found on the site of Chertsey Abbey, in Surrey, some years since, and pretty generally known from the drawings in Mr.

Henry Shaw's work on *Tile Pavements*, but there were other tiles found at Hales Owen of much interest, resembling no others that I am aware of. Since the publication of Mr. Shaw's work it has been ascertained, beyond doubt, that the figure subjects among the Chertsey tiles are illustrations of the romance of *Tristram and Isoult*, and the life of Richard the First, and the different subjects have for the most part been identified. It is possible that both series existed in their entirety at Hales Owen, but only one design illustrative of the life of King Richard occurs among the tiles found, and only a portion of the Tristram series. On the other hand, fragments of designs—evidently of the same workmanship—were found at Hales Owen, which were not found at Chertsey. At the latter place there were twenty-seven subjects identified as belonging to the Tristram series, and of these there were found at Hales Owen nine or ten, including those shown on drawings No. 1 and 4. The greater number of these Tristram designs were on circular tiles, but as at Chertsey the same designs occurred also on square tiles. Among the other tiles found at Hales Owen corresponding with those from Chertsey, three are shown in my drawings, viz. :

Drawing No. 5. (a) A circular tile of conventional design. (b) A square tile also of conventional design, four forming the complete pattern.

Drawing No. 7. (c) A smaller square tile, of vine leaves unconventionally treated (and in my opinion very bad.)

At Chertsey the circular tiles were surrounded by others of two or three different patterns (given by Mr. Shaw). One pattern was very similar to that in the spandrel space in tile (b) just referred to. In fact if you imagine four of these tiles placed together so as to form a square, and the central circle and the band surrounding it cut out, you have the framework of the circular tiles at Chertsey. The tiles forming the framework of the circular tiles at Hales Owen are shown in drawings Nos. 2, 3, 4. In No. 2 the central circle was not cut out, but was left perfectly blank. Nos. 3 and 4 differ only in the band, which consists in the one of grotesque animals, and in the other of an inscription. If the design in the spandrel space (I mean the angle outside the circle) be compared with that in the Chertsey tile (b), it will be seen that the general arrangement of the design in both is precisely the same, the only difference being that in one the foliage is conventionally treated, and in the other naturalistically. It is evident, I think, that the latter is copied from the former, and the designer of it probably considered it superior to the original, but although it does not look amiss in the drawing, it was not so well adapted to its position on the floor as the other, because at a little distance the design is lost, and appears to be a confused surface of light and dark. In drawing No. 3 it will be seen that the circular tile represents an ecclesiastic sitting clothed in

an alb and chasuble, and holding in his left hand a pastoral staff. The inscription runs—

ISTUD OP.. NICHOLAS MATERI XPI DEDIT ABAS
VIGEAT AB... CHAO MATER DONA NI.H.O.

Several of the letters are missing ; but there can be no doubt, I think, that they were as follows, and the full inscription would then run—

ISTUD OPVS NICHOLAS MATERI CHRISTI DEDIT ABBAS
VIGEAT ABSQUE CHAO MATER DONA NICHOLAO.

Although the circular tile was not found with the inscription I do not hesitate to consider that it is intended to represent (ideally of course) Abbot Nicholas.

Nicholas does not occur among the Abbots of Hales Owen in the imperfect published lists of them, but I have succeeded in ascertaining that he was abbot of the house in 1277, and that he died in 1298. I infer from the terms of the inscription that the pavement was laid down during his lifetime, and from a number of small facts observed during the excavation, I have arrived at the conclusion that all the tiles found, although they are of several different styles of design, were made at the same time and place, and formed part of the pavement laid down by him. Those resembling the Chertsey tiles, although made from the same moulds or stamps, were made at a different place from the Chertsey tiles. This is shown by a marked difference in the quality of the clay, and it seems probable that the abbot, wishing to pave the church, obtained these moulds, and with them, and some perhaps obtained elsewhere, and others made especially for him, had the tiles made at or near Hales Owen.

The other tiles shown in the drawings must be left to speak for themselves. I will merely direct attention to those on sheet No. 6. The two upper ones are part of what was no doubt a complete series representing Christ and the Apostles. The two drawn are obviously Christ and St. Peter, and there were fragments of several other figures found, but they did not admit of identification. Of the small square tiles there are several which are not of any particular interest, and I think that similar tiles are to be found in several churches in Warwickshire. The best designs are those which go four to a pattern ; and the small ones, with rude figures of men and animals, are curious. There were several others found which I have not drawn.

In conclusion I will only add that the drawings are of the full size of the tiles, with two exceptions (viz. the circular tile on sheet No. 5, which is really of the same size as the other circular tiles, and sheet No. 11.) The thickness of the small tiles is about an inch. The longer ones vary from one to two inches in thickness. No attempt has been made to represent the colour of the tiles. The body of each tile is made of clay which was burnt very unevenly, the darkest parts being

when burnt of a bluish black, and the lightest parts a lightish red. The impressed parts of the tiles are filled with white clay, and the surface is glazed with a vitreous yellow glaze. This makes the darkest parts of the tile a very dark neutral green, the light red is made into a golden brown. The effect of colour thus produced is far superior to that which is seen in modern tile-pavements, the manufacturers of which (with only one exception that I know of) aim at producing a perfectly even and ungraduated surface of colour. Those tiles, which are accidentally burnt unevenly, are actually sold at a low price as "wasters." The consequence is that modern pavements are generally as poor in colour as modern painted glass was until the manufacturers of it acquired—but, unfortunately, only in a small degree—the art of making the unevenly coloured glass which went so far towards producing the splendid effect of colour in the windows of mediæval artists.

On sheet No. 5 I have put tracings of parts of two fourteenth century tiles which have been lately found during the restoration of a church in Worcestershire. They are of unusually good design and workmanship, and I should be extremely glad to find that some member of the Archæological Association knows (and can inform me) of the existence elsewhere of complete examples of the same tiles."

About ten o'clock, the guests having gathered in the Council Chamber, the Mayor took his seat on the dais, supported by Lord Wrottesley on the right and Mr. Gordon Hills on the left.

Lord Wrottesley said that he had been asked, as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association, to take a part in the closing ceremony of the week that the archæologists had spent among them. He was sorry that his engagements did not allow him to be present at the different excursions, and to benefit by the instruction he could not have failed to receive. He hoped that the visitors who had come among them had not been disappointed in the objects of archæological interest in the district, but that what they had seen had answered the expectations they had previously formed of them, as matters they most wished to study. He was quite sure the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood would have derived nothing but profit, pleasure, and instruction, from the Congress of the gentlemen who had that week honoured the town with their presence. It remained for him only to call upon the Honorary Treasurer of the Association to adopt the ordinary form of bringing to a close the Annual Congress, which he trusted had been as agreeable and as profitable as any previously held.

Mr. G. M. Hills, in response to the call of his Lordship, said that all he had to do at the termination of a happy meeting was to offer to all who had aided the Association its thanks for the very hearty manner in which they had rendered that aid. He was anxious in discharging that duty not to be tedious, for the list of their friends was a long one; but he

was equally anxious on his own part and on the part of the Association to offer its thanks to them in the fullest and the heartiest possible manner. In the very first place he was bound to mention the kind reception his worship the Mayor and Mrs. Joseph Ford had given them that evening, and to acknowledge the usefulness, the beauty, and the value of the collection of objects of archaeological interest which they had enabled them to get together and to study in the rooms upstairs. In thanking his worship and Mrs. Ford for such an opportunity, they had also to thank those who had contributed of their archaeological treasures—some of them of a very rare and valuable character. He could assure those contributors that their kindness was fully appreciated by the Association. He thanked the Mayor and Corporation for the liberal use they had given of that room, and he also thanked the Mayors of Stafford and Dudley, who had so handsomely assisted them with their co-operation. They had had a most gratifying trip to the ruins of Dudley Castle, and that extraordinary work of he might say art, the caverns at Dudley, which were lit up for their inspection, and he felt that the most polished art fell short in magnitude and grandeur when placed in comparison with rude art like that they had looked upon in those excavations. He acknowledged the kindness they had received from the clergy and gentry of the neighbourhood in their visit to ancient places and churches, and specially referred to the visit of the Congress to Lichfield Cathedral, expressing satisfaction at the work of restoration done, and trusting to see it soon completed. With regard to some of the many objects of the week's excursions he said that he trusted that the greatest care would be taken of the beautiful archaeological monuments in the county of Stafford. On behalf of the Association he sincerely thanked Lord Wrottesley for having, among his other kindnesses, enabled Mr. Birch to take an account of the valuable series of documents in his lordship's possession. By the kindness on the part of owners of documents the Association was enabled to spread abroad a knowledge of the existence of such documents and their contents, that they might be compared with those existing in different libraries in the country. They had also to thank those who had contributed papers, and they must not fail to express their especial gratitude for the active exertions of one gentleman in particular, who had worked most arduously and incessantly up to the last moment to make the Congress a success—it was their excellent friend Dr. Langley. He would ask all who had served the Association, and forwarded the object of its meeting in any way to accept of its sincere thanks for all the kindness it had received; and in conclusion he would acknowledge how greatly the Association were indebted to its noble president, the Earl of Dartmouth. They all knew how useful the Earl had been, and how much they owed to his valuable advice. They were deeply indebted to him

as their President, and had, however poorly, endeavoured to express their thanks to his Lordship when they were entertained by him at Patshull. He would conclude then by saying farewell, and he hoped that some of them would live to visit Wolverhampton again, and renew the acquaintance of many gentlemen whose kindness had been so great.

The Mayor said, I cannot do better now than express to you the very gratifying feelings with which I have received you, ladies and gentlemen, on this most interesting occasion. I am pleased to know that the Archæological Congress has been this year attended with success, and I was glad to welcome to this town the members of an association of so much importance. I am glad to find that what little I have done to-night to enhance your comfort and enjoyment has been acceptable to all of you, and I am heartily proud of having had the opportunity to entertain you.

The company then dispersed themselves, and after another promenade through the pleasant rooms, gradually separated and the Congress was brought to a conclusion.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THE past year has witnessed the establishment of another periodical devoted to archæological subjects, and entitled *Long Ago*. Its objects are "to satisfy a taste that has extended beyond purely scientific circles in the memorials of the olden time, to popularise without vulgarising the study of relics of the past, to establish a reliable record of all lights thrown by modern enterprise and discovery upon the hidden treasures of many ages, and to afford a medium of reciprocity of information among historical, antiquarian, and literary inquirers."

The Society of Biblical Archæology, of which the establishment was announced in our *Journal* of last year, still continues its interesting and important work, the value of which will now be enhanced by communications respecting the late discoveries of Mr. George Smith in Assyria, laid before it by that gentleman himself. The following letter, which has been issued by order of the Council, will also show what valuable additions to ancient literature they propose to issue:

"SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY.

"9, Conduit Street, W. 6th May, 1873.

"SIR,—I beg to inform you that it is intended shortly to publish a series of TRANSLATIONS OF ALL THE IMPORTANT ASSYRIAN AND EGYPTIAN TEXTS which exist in the various collections of England and the Continent, and thus place before the English student the remains of

undoubtedly THE OLDEST AND MOST AUTHENTIC LITERATURE IN THE WORLD, the foundation of all history, archaeology, and Biblical exposition, the contemporaneous records of the nations and writers of the Bible. Nearly all the principal translators have offered their services for this purpose ; and while each author will be alone responsible for his portion of the work, the general arrangement of the materials will rest with the President of this Society. The selection of the records will not be confined to those bearing directly on the text of the Bible, but will embrace the entire range of Egyptian and Assyrian history and literature. Each translation will quote the authorities upon which it is based, or the monument from which it is taken ; and all other notes will be as few and brief as possible, to avoid controversy and expense. The first volume will be issued by Messrs. Bagster and Sons, at a price to bring it within the reach of all interested in such subjects. I shall be happy to answer any communication addressed to me upon this subject.

"I remain, Sir, yours faithfully,

W. R. COOPER."

Our learned Vice-President and Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, Mr. Thomas Wright, has completed a second volume of *Vocabularies* illustrating the manners of our forefathers as well as the history of the forms of elementary education and of the languages spoken in this island from the tenth century to the fifteenth. The following documents are contained in this volume, which is printed for private circulation only : 1, a collection of Latin and Anglo-Saxon glosses from a MS. of the eleventh century, in alphabetical order ; 2, a few glosses, not in alphabetical order, of the same date ; 3, an alphabetical Anglo-Saxon glossary of the tenth century, which, however, ends rather abruptly in the letter F ; 4, two little glossaries of the Old High German language, transcribed at the beginning of the sixth century, by Frederick Lindenbrog, from the original MS., then preserved at Florence in the library of the Grand Duke. It is needless to point out the importance and interest of this volume ; and it is only to be regretted that it is not issued for general instead of for private use.

To all those who pursue numismatic or historical studies we cordially recommend the *Numismata Cromwelliana, or the Medallic History of Oliver Cromwell* ; illustrated by his coins, medals, and seals, by our able associate and auditor, Henry W. Henfrey, F. Roy. Hist. Soc., etc., author of a *Guide to English Coins*.

In this work a complete historical description of all the coins, medals and pattern pieces of Oliver Cromwell is attempted for the first time. The general reader will also derive much information from the new light thrown upon the history of the Protectorate by these reliable witnesses, and may gain some idea of the beauty of those splendid specimens of seventeenth century art, hitherto unrivalled in any country, the works of Thomas Simon. The collector and student of Eng-

lish coins will find amongst the numismatic information, numerous facts, details, and elucidations which are absolutely unpublished; and the numerous autotype plates will furnish the first correct, and in some instances, the only illustrations yet published of many pieces. As only two hundred and fifty copies of the work will be printed, application should be made by those wishing to possess it to the author, 14, Park Street, Westminster.

A prospectus has been issued by Messrs. Day, of the Savoy Printing House, announcing the publication of *Ceramic Art in Remote Ages, or the Sepulchral Urns of the Early Inhabitants of Europe and the British Isles*. Collected and compared by J. B. Waring, F.R.I.B.A., author of *The Stone Monuments, Tumuli and Ornaments of Remote Ages*, together with notes on the symbols of the circle, the cross, and the serpent, amongst ancient nations.

The work includes a series of over three hundred examples—from Assyria, Greece, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, France, Scandinavia, and the British Isles. It consists of fifty-five plates, twenty-five of which are devoted to early Ceramic art, and the remainder to illustrations of the use of the cross before Christianity, the circle and cross symbols, and the serpent. Each plate is accompanied by descriptive and critical letter-press, forming one handsome volume, elegantly and appropriately bound in cloth, size imperial 4to.

An Inventory of Furniture and Ornaments remaining in all the Parish Churches of Hertfordshire in the last year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, translated from the Original Records by J. E. Cussans, with a glossary and topographical Index; and a *History of Hertfordshire*, containing an account of the descents of the various manors, pedigrees of families connected with the county, antiquities, local customs, etc., chiefly compiled from original MSS. in the Record Office and British Museum, parochial registers, local archives, and collections in the possession of private families, *Hundred of Edwinstreet*, by the same author, are both useful additions to the works we already possess in reference to the subjects of which they respectively treat. The former is an excellent supplement to Peacock's *Church Furniture* and other similar books: and the latter abounds with curious legends, epitaphs and personal anecdotes of a modern date, interwoven with antiquarian information, supplied in an exceedingly pleasant and genial manner, so that the volume possesses not only a scientific and local, but also a general interest.

Nenia Cornubiæ, by William C. Borlase, B.A. In reference to this work the *Athenæum* says, "In further extension of the well known work of his namesake of the last century, Mr. Borlase has completed the description of the primitive sepulchral monuments of Cornwall up

to the present time, giving an account of many interesting discoveries which have been made since Dr. Borlase's publication in 1754. The object of Mr. Borlase's essay, however, is not to advocate this theory of it, but to afford to archæologists of every shade of opinion a complete and detailed account of every discovery that has been made in the region described. This he has succeeded in doing, notwithstanding numerous digressions, which rather tend to confuse the account. The work is illustrated by upwards of ninety well executed woodcuts, which alone, apart from its literary merits, would render it a welcome addition to the prehistoric archæology of Cornwall."

Archæological Sketches of the District of Kintyre, Argyleshire, by Captain T. P. White, R.E. (of the Ordnance Survey), F.R.S. Edin., and F.S.A. Scot. Is a handsome, accurate, and most carefully executed volume. The author having been personally engaged in the Ordnance survey in Scotland has availed himself fully of the opportunities he has had of describing and figuring the most interesting antiquarian monuments and objects of the district, and with regard to other matters he says in his prospectus :—

"With regard to arrangement, the parish, as the territorial unit of the Ordnance Survey, has been adopted as the basis of subdivision. In the present volume, however, it has been thought best to group the several parishes of one district together as regards more especially their ecclesiastical remains; reserving for a future occasion notice of the prehistoric and such other remains as would not properly fall within the scope of this part of the subject.

"To the topographical nomenclature of the district special attention has been given, in the belief that in local names, in many cases handed down from very remote tradition, the historian and etymologist may gather much to assist his researches. In this particular the author has to some extent availed himself of the Survey Name-books, as they are called. In these every name obtained on the ground is systematically recorded; the local authorities are quoted for its different modes of spelling; and a resultant orthography is adopted which appears nearest the truth. A literal translation is given where the name is Gaelic, and any local or traditional information of interest is added. On this system waifs and strays of archæological information may be picked up and recorded, not otherwise likely to find their way to the public.

"Ecclesiastical dedications have received their due share of consideration. These form a specific and very interesting inquiry, which no amount of investigation of documents can fully satisfy without some examination on the ground of local materials. In the case of each religious site the author has endeavoured to trace its patron saint, and given a brief sketch of his life, noting of course especially anything

that might appear to connect him with the part of Argyllshire under review.

“ And lastly, a short summary of the history of Kintyre has been added ; for without some light thrown on the great chiefs who built up and supported the mediæval church, it is difficult to follow intelligibly the charters and other documents relating to it, or to interpret its beautiful monuments.

“ The volume will contain above a hundred illustrations, and they include as nearly as possible drawings of every mediæval monument above ground, sketches of the church architecture, etc.”

Lancashire Legends, Traditions, Pageants, Sports, etc., with an appendix containing a rare tract on the Lancashire witches, by John Harland and T. T. Wilkinson ; is a valuable repertory of old records, sayings, and doings, manners and superstitions, customs which have either become altogether obsolete, or of which in some few instances traces remain up to the present day. Legends, family history, curious specimens of folk-lore, and interesting anecdotes, are given in an amusing and popular style, so that the work is not only a valuable addition to the knowledge we already possess of the county of which it more especially treats, but a book which may be confidently recommended to the general reader.

In reference to foreign archaeology, *Reliquiae Aquitanicae*, being contributions to the archaeology and paleontology of Périgord and the adjoining provinces of Southern France, by Edward Lartet and Henry Christy, edited by T. Rupert Jones, F.R.S., F.G.S., etc., professor of geology, Royal Military and Staff Colleges, Sandhurst, in 15 parts, will be found a trustworthy and useful guide in the matters on which it treats.

We may mention as a work which will prove eminently serviceable to all who are engaged in antiquarian pursuits and studies, *A Mediæval Latin-English Dictionary*, founded on Ducange and comprising all the matter therein contained ; illustrated and enlarged by numerous additions derived from patristic and scholastic authors, from the works of writers published by the Record Commission, from mediæval histories, charters, glossaries, and dictionaries, and from various other archaeological sources, ancient and modern, by E. A. Dayman, B.D., late fellow and tutor of Exeter College, Oxford.

Manners, Customs, and Dress during the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance Period, by Paul Lacroix (Bibliophile Jacob), is written with all the author's well known ability of imparting knowledge upon those subjects of which he treats in the present volume. It is intended

as a supplement to his former work, the *Arts of the Middle Ages*, and commencing from the downfall of the Roman Empire, in Western Europe, continues its information down to the reign of Francis II. The subjects on which it treats are too numerous to particularise, but they are both interesting and important. The author has illustrated his volume with beautifully executed chromo-lithographs and woodcuts, copied from the most authentic manuscripts, and its appearance is as elegant as its contents are valuable.

It having been determined at the International Congress of Orientalists, recently held in Paris, that the Congress of 1874 should assemble in London, a Committee of Management has been formed to make the necessary arrangements. The President is S. Birch, Esq., LL.D., and among the members are Sir H. Robinson, Professor Donaldson, and Messrs. Joseph Bonomi, Col. Seton Guthrie, R.E., John Henderson, F.S.A., Rev. J. M. Rodwell, R. Rost, Ph.D., George Smith, E. Thomas, and W. S. W. Vaux. The Congress will meet in the course of the year 1874, and the Subscription is fixed at twelve francs, or half a guinea. Those who desire to join it are requested to apply to Robert K. Douglass, Esq., British Museum, W. C.

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ERRATA.

Page 28, l. 4 from foot, *for Tolsford read Tolford.*
 " 29, ll. 14, 29, 38, from top, *ditto, ditto.*
 " 30, l. 20, *ditto, ditto.*
 " 45, l. 1 from foot, *for pſſernium read pſſurnium.*
 " 77, l. 8, *for flint read flail.*
 " 79, l. 12, *for knot read knob.*
 " 187, l. 23, *for shaft read haft.*
 " 191, l. 4, *for Curey read Cury; and l. 26, for Gibbin read Gubbio.*
 " 196, l. 38, *for of the lathe read by the lathe.*
 " 208, l. 15, *for channels read chancels.*
 " 211, l. 18, *for Jeffreys' read Faversham's.*
 " 212, l. 13, *for cobwebs and dust read in the ground.*
 " 240, l. 12, *del the comma after plate.*
 " 323, l. 5, *for tithes read tiles.*
 " 437, l. 17, *for Nicholas Abbot, read Nicholas, Abbot.*



